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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
FRANCE,  
UNDER THE KINGS OF  
*THE RACE OF VALOIS,*

FROM  
THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES THE FIFTH,  
IN 1364,  
TO  
THE DEATH OF CHARLES THE NINTH,  
IN 1574.

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BY NATHL. WILLIAM WRAXALL, ESQ.

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*THE THIRD EDITION,*  
WITH VERY CONSIDERABLE AUGMENTATIONS.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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LONDON:  
PRINTED FOR J. MAWMAN, IN THE POULTRY,  
BY B. McMILLAN, BOW-STREET, COVENT-GARDEN,

1807.

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THE numerous corrections which have taken place in the present edition of this History, together with the considerable augmentations that it has received, may perhaps entitle it to be considered, in some degree, as an improved Work. Those augmentations do not, however, consist so much in additional facts, or in matter of new historic evidence, as in remarks, which time or reflection have suggested to the Author.

Should the times admit, he may perhaps be impelled to go farther back in the French Annals; not only to the accession of Philip of *Valois*, head of the line of French Princes so denominated in history; but, to Hugh Capet himself, founder of that great, illustrious, and unfortunate Dynasty, whose actual destiny, intimately connected with the calamities.

of Europe, we must all deplore. The period of time, including near four centuries, which elapsed between the elevation of Hugh Capet to the throne of France, in 987, and the point at which this History commences in 1364, is indeed, it must be admitted, remote. But it does not the less comprize a number of curious facts and circumstances, deeply interesting to every English reader. When we consider that from the Era of the Norman Conquest in 1066, the English Sovereigns possessed by hereditary right, one of the greatest and fairest provinces of the French Monarchy: and when we further reflect, that from the accession of the Angevin, or Plantagenet race of kings in 1154, down to Edward the third, the English may be truly said to have almost divided France with its own native kings; we shall readily admit that every portion of the French Annals, contains matter of the liveliest interest to us. It may, indeed, be not unaptly compared to  
a reflect-

a reflecting mirror, which shews the original images reversed.

It cannot be denied, that amidst the convulsions of the age in which we live, when the ancient European States and Monarchies are only to be traced in their ruins; the awful events passing around us at the present moment, seem, as it were, to throw all past history into the shade. Men, whose anxious views are directed forwards, in hopes to penetrate a dark and alarming futurity, possess neither the inclination, nor the tranquillity of mind, requisite for carrying their researches backward into past ages. Let it, however, be remembered, that at every period of modern time, the French nation has, in a greater, or in a lesser degree, performed the same political part as at present. The energies of that government and people, whether directed by Charlemagne, by Louis the fourteenth, or by Buonaparte; have equally ravaged, over-run, or subjected the

Conti-

Continent. Under every aspect, whether during a period of tranquillity, or while in a paroxysm of military activity; the French nation and history form one of the most entertaining, as well as instructive subjects of reflection and disquisition, that can be submitted to the human mind.



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CHAP. I.

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**T**HE history of France may be considered as abounding more than any other of modern Europe, in those interesting scenes which touch the heart, and awaken the affections.

The annals of England are certainly bolder, and marked with stronger colours; but, like the genius of the nation, they are austere and gloomy. Few of those pleasing anecdotes occur, which diminish the horror of battles, or of civil wars; while they open more elegant sources of entertainment. The long struggles, and alternate massacres, of the two houses of York and Lancaster, in the fifteenth century, were followed by the systematic tyranny



ranny of the family of Tudor. Henry the eighth seemed to emulate the cruelty of the worst of the Cæsars, while he consigned successively to the scaffold, his wives, his favorites, and his ministers. It is only in Suetonius, that we must look for similar scenes. Even the period of the vigorous administration of Elizabeth, justly celebrated for policy and wisdom, is not to be compared for refinement and cultivation of manners, to the court of Catherine of Medicis. The efforts of a passion for civil liberty, however noble and justifiable in themselves; mingled with the frenzy of fanaticism, impeded the entrance of those humanizing arts which polish society, during the greater part of the seventeenth century. While at the same period of time, all the arts which minister to magnificence, or which tend to diffuse comfort and elegance among a people, were encouraged by the two successive regents of France; Mary of Medicis, and Anne of Austria. Charles the second, educated in foreign countries, and habituated during his exile to more courtly climes than England, first introduced that spirit of urbanity and gallantry into his dominions, which was previously un-

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known,

known, or which at least only faintly characterized the nation.

The French history, on the contrary, is replete with those anecdotes, and abounds in those situations, which, while they bring the sovereign immediately forward to our view, divest him of that splendor or dignity, which usually veil princes from general observation. The little weaknesses of the heart, the trespasses of passion; how deeply do they interest, and how infinitely do they engage!—We contemplate ourselves, we pity, and we forgive. Why are Francis the first, and Henry the fourth, so peculiarly objects of the attachment of every reader? Why do we follow them so eagerly, thro' all the transitions of their fortune, amidst defeats, imprisonment, and adversity? Because they were distinguished, perhaps beyond any other princes in modern history, by those amiable and engaging foibles which serve to contrast the virtues of the hero, the statesman, and the king; qualities which nature has almost constantly and inseparably implanted in superior and elevated minds. It is peculiarly gratifying, to quit the council-board, or the  
field

field of battle, where we only survey the *monarch*; in order to follow the *man*, and to contemplate him in the retirement of private life.

From this principle it results, that Memoirs, tho' in their nature less dignified and august than History, are yet generally more sought after, and interest us in a livelier degree. Confined to a narrower sphere, but, diffuse and minute, they satisfy the natural curiosity of the mind to know those comparatively trivial and unimportant transactions of the *individual*; which History, when treating of *kings*, usually disdains to enumerate, and passes over in silence.

In these pleasing sources of information, the French annals are as profuse, as ours seem to have been barren and deficient. What contemporary writers or historians have we to name, who can stand in competition with *Froissart*, *des Ursins*, and *Monstrelet*? The Memoirs of *Comines*, for simplicity, veracity, and elegance, may vie with our finest productions; tho' he wrote in the fifteenth century, at a time when England was hardly emerging from barbarism, under the first prince of the family of Tudor. If we would

seek for any parallel to *De Thou*, we must have recourse to antiquity. Our language and nation furnish none, before the eighteenth century. *Montluc*, and *Du Bellay*, abound with curious facts: while *Brantome* unveils in all its nudity, the manners, anecdotes, and most secret adventures of the time of Catherine of Medicis, and her three sons, the last sovereigns of the house of Valois. That most entertaining, tho' licentious writer, *Brantome*, leaves scarcely any thing to desire, which can furnish information or amusement, relative to the long and interesting period when he flourished. It is in consequence of these numerous sources of historical knowledge, that it may be truly asserted, the anecdotes and political intrigues of the court of Francis the first and Henry the second, are perhaps better known over all Europe, than are those of James the first and Charles the first of England, altho' in point of time the former were anterior by near a century.


There is, however, a point, beyond which a liberal, but corrected curiosity, does not carry its researches. The events of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, are

enve-

enveloped in too gross a barbarism, and obscured by too profound an ignorance, to merit the pains, or repay the trouble, of an elaborate inquiry. Scarcely any authentic materials are to be procured: scarcely any of the great actuating motives, religious or political, which then influenced the princes or the people, exist in any shape at present: scarcely any deductions are applicable to these times, from the conduct or policy of those. As knowledge and letters broke in upon this intellectual darkness, every incident rises in its effect upon the mind, and becomes of importance. The objects swell to the view, and are more intimately discernible.—There is, perhaps, no exact and precise æra, at which to date this alteration. It cannot however be judiciously extended much higher in the French annals, than to the accession of Philip of Valois; which happened before the middle of the fourteenth century. On the other hand, to bring it down to the commencement of the reign of Charles the seventh, which took place near a hundred years later, in 1422, might possibly appear to be too severe. Between these two extreme points, we may therefore begin with the reign

of Charles the fifth, the contemporary and the antagonist of Edward the third.

To give an accurate picture of nations or of governments, to throw many new lights on general history, or to enter into an exact chronological narration of facts; are not the professed objects of this work. The intention is, to place before the reader those striking qualities of the successive French princes, which bring them forward to view, and characterize the manners of the age in which they flourished: to make him acquainted with the chief ministers, or mistresses, or generals, who acted the second parts under the respective sovereigns; and lastly, to exercise the fullest liberty of reflection, of censure, or of approbation, uninfluenced, as much as possible, by prescription, prejudice, or country.




1364.  
April.

If we survey the interior situation of France, at the period when this History commences, it presents a scene of general desolation, and almost of universal anarchy. The ill-founded pretensions of Edward the third, king of England, to that crown, had involved the French monarchy

monarchy in ruin. If he did not attain the complete gratification of his ambition, his passion for military glory at least was satiated by the two successive victories of Cressy and of Poitiers; by the captivity of John, the father of Charles the fifth; and finally by the peace of Bretigny, which had restored to him all those extensive provinces which his ancestors had possessed in Guyenne and Gascony. His son, Edward, the Black Prince, so celebrated in history, held his court in the centre of these dominions, at Bourdeaux. He was still in the prime of manhood; and his character, adorned with all the qualities calculated to enforce civil, as well as military obedience, excited respect, no less than it spread terror, thro' every part of the French monarchy. 1361.

Charles, surnamed the Bad, king of Navarre, the scourge of the age and nation in which he lived, had already been active in all the commotions of the preceding reign. Possessing pretensions to the crown of France, in right of his mother Jane, daughter of Louis the tenth; his turbulent and discontented spirit induced him to form alliances of the closest nature with the English. Nature had endowed

1364.  dowed him with all those talents and qualifications, which, under the guidance of a vicious heart, are eminently pernicious. He captivated the multitude by his munificence and generosity. Versed in all the arts of address, and even of eloquence, with which to varnish over his actions, he had boldness enough to perpetrate the most atrocious crimes. He was the avowed and inveterate enemy of Charles the fifth, to whom it is confidently pretended that he had caused poison to be administered when Dauphin; the effects of which, tho' retarded, or mitigated by medicine, are nevertheless said to have yet eventually terminated in his premature death. Fickle and perfidious, the king of Navarre violated even his interests, in order to gratify his passions; and slighted, or set at defiance, the laws of consanguinity, of affection to his country, and of honor.

Bands of desperate soldiery, inured to rapine, to whom the late wars had given birth, and whom the peace of Bretigny had rendered unnecessary, over-running the provinces, added to the general confusion. The lands, even in the most fertile portions of France, lay desert and uncultivated : a pestilential distemper



per had swept away prodigious numbers of the people ; while the taxes, which the ransom of the late king, and the disorders of the state, had increased to an unprecedented degree, tended to produce a spirit of revolt and disaffection among every order of subjects. 1364.

Charles, the eldest son of John, had only attained his twenty-sixth year when he ascended the throne ; but he had been educated in adversity, the school of great princes. Instructed by the experience of his father and grandfather, who had brought the French monarchy to the brink of ruin ; he studiously avoided those errors into which their presumption and rashness had led them at Cressy, and at Poitiers.

A long succession of victories, which necessarily raised the courage of the English nation, had no less comparatively depressed the public spirit of France. Two able and powerful princes, Edward the third, and his son the Black Prince, commanded the English ; both of them still in the vigor of their age. Tho' the political storm had spent its force, it was not yet subsided ; nor did any obvious and apparent decline in the English affairs, seem to indicate the


1364. the moment when the kingdom might be attacked with success. Charles, under these adverse, or discouraging circumstances, knew how to adopt that wary and temporizing policy, which peculiarly distinguishes statesmen born to retrieve the affairs of nations, and which almost always eventually attains its ends. His reign may be said to furnish the most memorable proof, that it is not fortune, but wisdom, which disposes of the events of human life.

1367, A circumstance which at first seemed to  
&  
1368. carry the English glory to the greatest height, opened at length to Charles the occasion which he so much desired; and finally enabled him, from the recesses of the palace of the Louvre, to regain without a battle, all the provinces that both his predecessors had lost. Peter, surnamed the Cruel, who reigned at that time in Castile, had put his queen to death by poison, tho' young, beautiful and virtuous, in order to gratify a mistress to whom he was enslaved\*. He had caused one of his brothers to

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\* Peter the Cruel had married Blanch, daughter of the duke of Bourbon. Previous to the completion of the

to be assassinated, and had attempted to take away the lives of the others. Henry de Trastemare, the eldest of these, weary of the tyrant's excesses, and impelled by despair, fled into France. Charles the fifth not only received him with open arms, but lent him a general and troops, with which he returned 1368.



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the nuptials, the king became enamoured of Mary de Padilla, whom he first saw by accident, at the house of Don Alfonso d'Albuquerque, prime minister of Castile, under whose wife, Mary de Padilla had been educated. So violent was the passion which Peter conceived for her, that it was with the utmost difficulty, and only in compliance with the urgent importunities of the queen his mother, that he could be prevailed on to espouse the princess Blanch. The ceremony on that occasion, which was performed with an indecent haste, and in a gloomy silence, seemed to indicate the unhappy catastrophe that followed.—Peter exerted the utmost effort of restraint over his inclinations, in remaining two days with his new queen. On the third day he quitted her, and returned to his mistress, who redoubled her caresses in order to retain her lover, and succeeded. She even engaged him to compel his wife to leave the kingdom, and return into France. But Peter, to whom crimes were familiar, caused her to be poisoned. This infamous deed was committed in 1361, when Blanch was scarcely twenty-five years old. Mary de Padilla survived her only for a short time.

into

1368. into Spain, and by whose assistance he de-  
throned his rival.

Peter, universally detested by his subjects, and odious even to foreigners, endeavoured in vain to find an asylum in Portugal. After wandering for some time in the province of Galicia, he embarked for Bourdeaux ; meaning to implore the protection and assistance of the prince of Wales, who usually resided in that city, as capital of Guyenne. Fond of military fame, and flattered by the application made to him, the prince unfortunately consented. He marched across the Pyrenees, and meeting Henry de Trastemare in the plains of Navarette, victory, which still accompanied Edward, declared in his favor. He replaced Peter on the throne of Castile, and was repaid with that ingratitude which he ought to have expected. Scarcely could he carry back to France the half of his troops, diminished by distempers, unrecompensed, and discontented. Edward himself could not escape the attacks of a disease, which, tho' it did not prove immediately mortal, incapacitated him for those exertions of personal valor or skill that had rendered him so eminent ; and  
which

which were still so indispensable for the protection of the numerous provinces over which he reigned. 1368.

Bertrand du Guesclin, who was justly esteemed only the second captain of his age, while the Black Prince could support the weight of armour; who had been twice his prisoner, and whom Edward had set free after the battle of Navarette, from a magnanimous contempt of his military capacity; now came forward to the assistance of his country. Charles having put into his hand the sword of Constable, ordered him to unsheath it against the enemies of France. In vain did the conqueror of Poitiers attempt to support the reputation which he had formerly acquired in the field. In vain, with indignant pride, did he threaten to appear with sixty thousand men, and a helmet on his head, in the presence of his sovereign lord the king of France, who summoned him to do homage as vassal. Debilitated, feeble, and depressed by the advances of disease, he made only some ineffectual efforts to stem the progress of the French arms. His death followed, not many years after; and the troubles which took

1369,  
&  
1370.

July,  
1376.

1376. took place under his son, Richard the second, who succeeded to the English crown, left Charles and the Constable du Guesclin an almost undisputed conquest.

1376 to 1380. In the course of a few years, all the fruits of the victories formerly gained by Edward the third, were lost; and of the vast dominions which he had acquired, only Calais, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne, with an inconsiderable territory annexed to those cities, remained to his successor. France had recovered her natural and ancient superiority over her foreign enemies; while a wise and vigorous administration succeeding to the past convulsions, produced the most beneficial effects in every part of the kingdom. Order and tranquillity began to revive in the provinces from which they had so long been banished; and the house of Valois no longer held a precarious throne, liable to perpetual attack on the part of a foreign pretender; when Charles 1380. the fifth expired in the prime of his age. Historians attribute his death to the effects of that poison, which the king of Navarre had administered to him many years preceding; the consequences of which, it is pretended that

that a German physician had delayed, by opening an issue in the king's arm, which he at the same time predicted must be attended by death, if ever it was closed. Whether this story does not carry with it a certain air of the marvellous, or whether poisons can be in fact thus delayed and mitigated, may perhaps appear to us in the present age, more than doubtful\*.

But,

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\* All the contemporary writers certainly agree in the assertion, that the king of Navarre administered poison to the Dauphin; and that it was of so violent a nature as to cause his hair, nails, and the external skin to come off. They add, that the emperor of Germany, Charles the fourth, sent him a physician, who in some degree suspended the progress, and diminished the mortal tendency of the venom, by opening an issue in his arm. About a fortnight before his death, the king caused himself to be removed to the castle of Beauté, upon the river Marne, in hopes of deriving benefit from the change of air. But, the symptoms of his disorder becoming more inveterate, he prepared himself for his end with the utmost magnanimity and composure. He was only in his forty-fourth year, when he expired. Christina de Pisan, daughter to Thomas de Pisan, assures us with the greatest solemnity, that the king died exactly at the hour, which her father, who was astrologer to that prince, had predicted. The belief in magic was a characteristic of the century; and subsisted, tho' somewhat diminished in its influence, for ages afterwards.

1380. But, whatever was the immediate cause of Charles's decease, the effect was ruinous to the state, and destructive to the kingdom. With the king expired the source of the public tranquillity; and France, which had been rescued by his wisdom, soon relapsed into all the misfortunes that the nation had previously experienced.

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Voltaire, accustomed to treat all superstitions with contempt, and none more so than those extraordinary circumstances which have been supposed to attend, or to produce, the death of princes; denies that Charles's end was caused or accelerated by poison.—“The poison,” says he, “of which Charles the fifth died, was a bad constitution.” But, Voltaire sometimes pushes his historical incredulity beyond reasonable limits. The same act, which in one century appears wholly improbable, may nevertheless have been acted, or performed in another age. Charles the Bad himself, who survived the king of France about seven years, perished by a species of death equally singular and deplorable, in a very advanced period of life.—He was attacked with the leprosy, a disease in that century common over all Europe, and from which princes were not exempt. His physicians had ordered him to be wrapped in bandages of linen, previously steeped in brandy and sulphur. A spark of fire accidentally falling on him, he was so miserably burnt, before his attendants could extinguish it, that he expired at Pampelona, the capital of Navarre, only three days after the fatal accident.


It



It is unnecessary to draw minutely the character of Charles the fifth, which is best exhibited in the epitome of his reign. His sagacity, his masterly and temperate policy, were superior in their consequences, to all the brilliancy of military talents or glory. He foresaw the evils which must inevitably befall his country, from the critical situation in which he left affairs under a minority: but he foresaw, without being able to redress, or to prevent, the impending misfortune. His intention had originally been to have vested the regency in the queen, one of the most accomplished and virtuous princesses of the age; but her death, which took place two years before that of the king her husband, deprived the kingdom of this last resource\*. Ber-  
trand

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\* Jane, queen of Charles the fifth, was daughter to Peter the first, duke of Bourbon, a prince of the blood royal. She was born in 1337, and was married to the Dauphin in 1350, neither of them having then completed their thirteenth year. Beautiful in her person, she possessed talents and judgment which rendered her worthy the throne of France. The king her husband, who was passionately attached to her, and who consulted her on affairs of state; frequently carried her with him to

1380. trand du Guesclin, Constable of France, from whose valor, loyalty, and conduct, the nation might have derived infinite advantages, was likewise no more. Perhaps no political event was ever more fatal to France, than the death of Charles the fifth; since it cannot be doubted, that if he had lived a few years longer, he would have obtained the most complete superiority over the English, whom the errors and misconduct of Richard the second had involved in all the confusion of civil discord. Their final

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the parliament, upon days of solemnity, where she took her seat publicly by his side. She appeared there in May, 1369, when Charles declared war on Edward the third, king of England, for his pretended infractions of the treaty of Bretigny. Tho' the king had three brothers, all in the vigor of their age, yet he had, by his will, delegated the regency to the queen, in case of her surviving him. She died in childbed, at the Hotel de St. Paul, in Paris, in February, 1378. Froissart says, that her health and constitution were deeply injured during her pregnancy, by her persisting to bathe, contrary to the advice and remonstrances of her physicians, which was very prejudicial to her; "et la," says Froissart, "lui commença le mal de la mort." Her death appears to have been a serious misfortune to France, under the circumstances in which it took place.

expul-

expulsion from every portion of the French 1380.  
monarchy, except Calais, was thereby pro-  
tracted for near seventy years; and did not  
take place till the middle of the ensuing cen-  
tury, under a prince still more feeble than  
Richard, the unfortunate Henry the sixth\*.

Charles the sixth, who succeeded to the Sept.  
throne of France at this critical juncture,

\* The uniform and systematical conduct of Charles the fifth, as a politician and a sovereign, in a ferocious age, when war and battles alone decided the fate of nations, impress us with the most elevated ideas of his capacity and vigor of mind. These extraordinary endowments procured him the epithet of "The Wise;" a title to which his whole reign evinces his just pretensions. Petrarch, who visited France in the time of his father John, was equally astonished and delighted at the indications which Charles then gave of a judgment above his years, capable already of directing the greatest affairs of state. Edward the third himself, his antagonist, made the best eulogium of Charles, when he declared, "that no prince of his age had so seldom drawn his sword; yet, that none had ever given him so much disturbance." The whole series of his policy was directly opposed to that of his two predecessors, John, and Philip of Valois; whose impetuous and ill-governed violence, had precipitated their kingdom and their subjects into the most deplorable calamities.

1380. being only twelve years of age; it therefore appeared indispensably necessary to appoint a regent during the term of his minority. The late king, conscious that his brother, Louis, duke of Anjou, second son of John, possessed the strongest claim from proximity of blood, had nominated the duke to that charge previous to his death. The regent's first care was to assume the political power annexed to the office; but, as the person of the young sovereign, and the care of his education, were consigned by Charles the fifth to other persons, these divided and contending interests soon broke out into open animosity. The duke of Anjou seems to have been marked by no other qualities, than an unbounded rapacity, and an inordinate ambition; vices too common in persons of elevated stations, to form any strong discrimination of character.

John, duke of Berri, second of the brothers of Charles the fifth; a prince of mean abilities, whom the superior talents of his competitors in administration, ever retained in a sort of subordination and inferiority; assumed scarcely any part in public affairs. But, on the other hand, Philip, duke of Burgundy, the

the fourth and youngest of the sons of John, 1380.  
was already celebrated for his personal valor,  
and powerful from his dominions. The fa-  
vorite of his father, by whose side he had been  
taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, when  
his other sons deserted him; John had distin-  
guished his courage and filial attachment, by  
giving him the investiture of the province of  
Burgundy, the greatest territorial fief depend-  
ant on the French crown. In this sacrifice to  
parental affection or partiality, the king, while  
he violated the rules of sound policy, laid the  
foundation of numerous misfortunes to the  
state, which his descendants had cause long to  
regret. Superadded to a rich province in pos-  
session, Philip looked forward likewise to a vast  
territory in reversion, by his marriage with Mar-  
garet, daughter and heiress of Albert of Bava-  
ria, Count of Haynault and Holland. As he was  
moreover eminent for military talents, and  
not deficient in civil capacity, he formed an  
insuperable barrier to the political power  
which the regent his brother claimed, and  
which he attempted to exercise. The au-  
thority of this latter prince proved however  
of short duration; that thirst of dominion

1380. which characterized him, constituting the immediate cause of his destruction.

The dissolute and voluptuous Joan, who was descended from Charles, duke of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, who conquered the kingdom of Naples; a princess not less distinguished for her talents, than for her crimes, and her misfortunes; reigned at this time, over that beautiful portion of Italy. Charles de Durazzo, allied to her by the ties of consanguinity, whom she had adopted as her successor, and on whom she had conferred the greatest personal obligations; by an act of singular inhumanity, as well as ingratitude, deposed and put to death his benefactress. Previous to her decease, the unfortunate queen having called to her assistance Louis, duke of Anjou, declared him her heir and successor in the Neapolitan throne.

1382. Impelled by an ardent desire to take possession of the crown which had thus devolved to him, the regent redoubled his pecuniary exactions on the people; seized on all the treasures which the late king his brother had concealed within the walls of the castle of Melun; and being encouraged by the Antipope, from whom

he

he received the crown of Naples at Avignon, he 1382.  
 marched his troops into Italy, consisting of  
 thirty thousand cavalry. But, the Neapolitan  
 prince, Charles de Durazzo, too wise to ha-  
 zard a general battle, and skilled in all the  
 duplicity of Italian negotiation, deluded his  
 rival by challenges to personal combat, which  
 he never meant to fulfil; and artfully pro-  
 tracted the execution of them, till famine,  
 added to disease, began to waste the French  
 forces. Surrounded, harassed, and continu-  
 ally pursued by a superior army, the duke  
 of Anjou was at length reduced to extreme  
 distress, from which no efforts were made by  
 his brothers to relieve or extricate him. Ex-  
 hausted with such a series of calamities, and 1384.  
 wholly forgotten in France, he at length sunk  
 under the weight of his misfortunes, and ex-  
 pired at the town of Bari in Calabria, of a ma-  
 lignant distemper, in a state of the deepest  
 poverty, abandoned by the greater part of his  
 followers.

If we turn our view during this period to 1384  
 France, and contemplate its administration, to  
 we find all the disorders and oppressions 1390.  
 which usually accompany times of minority.  
 The dukes of Berri and of Burgundy, grasp-  
 ing

1384 ing at power, but exercising it to the injury  
 to  
 1390. of the state, gave rise, by their violence, to  
 ~~~~~ sedition and tumult. The young king, Charles  
 the sixth, whom his father had begun to  
 elevate in sentiments of virtue that might  
 have qualified him to reign ; neglected in his  
 education, and studiously kept from an ac-  
 quaintance with the affairs of his kingdom ;  
 only taught to follow the chase, or immersed  
 in pleasures ; did not seem to promise any  
 speedy termination to these public misfor-  
 tunes. His character was nevertheless generous  
 and beneficent ; he loved his people, and en-  
 deavoured to give them proofs of this disposi-  
 tion. Even his understanding, tho' unculti-  
 vated, and left to unfold itself without any  
 assistance, yet appears to have been clear,  
 just, and manly. As he approached to years  
 of maturity, the authority of his uncles gradu-  
 ally diminished ; and when he first assumed  
 the reins of government in his own person,  
 he conciliated the affections of his subjects, by  
 depriving the duke of Berri of the government  
 of Languedoc, which he had greatly abused ;  
 and by the absolute dismissal from power, of  
 the duke of Burgundy.

The kingdom began to recover from the  
 evils



evils of a divided legislature, and to enjoy a degree of public tranquillity, unknown since the death of Charles the fifth; when an accident the most extraordinary, as well as deplorable, renewed and aggravated the national misfortunes, by depriving the king of his reason. The circumstances which appear to have produced this alienation of mind, are so singular, that in order fully to comprehend them, it is necessary to trace them to their source.

During the extreme distress to which Louis, duke of Anjou, was reduced in the prosecution of his unfortunate expedition against Naples, he dispatched the Seigneur de Craon into France, with a commission to procure from the court a supply of money: but this nobleman, after having raised a considerable sum, instead of carrying it to his master, dissipated it at Venice, in every kind of intemperance and profusion. On Craon's subsequent return to Paris, he was accused by the duke of Berri, as the principal author of his brother the duke of Anjou's disgraces and death. Craon having afterwards attempted to assassinate Oliver de Clisson, Constable of France, was obliged to take shelter in the duchy

1384  
to  
1390.



1391.

1391. duchy of Bretagne, where the sovereign of that country received and protected him\*. Charles, instigated by his ministers, demanded the cri-

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\* The Seigneur de Craon's resentment against Oliver de Clisson, arose from the following circumstance. Craon had been during some time, in high favor with the king's brother, Louis, the young duke of Orleans. But, an indiscreet expression having escaped him to the duchess of Orleans, Valentina, which seemed to insinuate that her husband was engaged in a criminal amour, the intelligence soon reached the duke's ear; who immediately disgraced him without assigning any cause, and even prevailed on the king to banish him from the court. Craon, having had some previous dispute with the Constable, imputed the disgrace to his suggestions, and resolved on revenge.

Juvenal des Ursins has related the particulars of the assassination. As Oliver de Clisson returned from the Hotel de St. Pol, where Charles the sixth then kept his court, Craon attacked him with twenty soldiers. The Constable defended himself against so great a disparity of numbers, with the most determined courage; and at length, covered with wounds, he reached a tradesman's shop, at the door of which he sunk down, from loss of blood. Craon, apprehending him to be dead, escaped with his assassins from Paris, and took refuge in Bretagne.—He obtained the king's pardon for this atrocious crime, ten years afterwards, at the interview which took place between Charles the sixth and Richard the second, king of England, near Calais.


minal;

minimal; and on the duke's refusal to deliver him up, prepared to seize him by force, at the head of a considerable army. As he continued his march for this purpose, towards the confines of Bretagne, while passing thro' a forest situate between the towns of Mans and La Fleche, in the day-time, a tall man, who is described as black and hideous, unexpectedly appeared from among the trees, and seizing his horse's bridle, exclaimed, "Arrete Roi! ou vas tu? 'Tu es trahi." He then instantly disappeared in the forest. 1391. 1392.

The king, notwithstanding, pursued his march, in defiance of this denunciation; when a second accident, which seems to have been purely casual, gave rise to the most violent and fatal effects. It was in the month of August, when the heat happened to be intense. A page, whose office entitled him to carry the king's lance, having fallen asleep upon his horse, let it fall upon the helmet which another page carried before him. The noise thus suddenly produced, the sight of the lance, and the ambiguous denunciation of the phantom, recurring all at once to the king's imagination, he was impressed with a belief that they were going to deliver him

1392. to his enemies; and this apprehension acting strongly on his senses, produced an instant fit of ælurium. He drew his sword, and striking furiously at all those about him, killed and wounded several, before any person had force or address enough to seize him : they effected it at length : the king, wearied with his efforts, fell into a sort of lethargic swoon ; and in this condition they conveyed him, tied down in a cart, to the city of Mans.

The story here related of the man in the wood who seized on the king's bridle, appears at first sight to be so apparently exaggerated or fictitious, that we should certainly be induced to treat it as such ; if, superadded to the universal testimony of the contemporary writers as to the fact, some of them did not give us reason to believe, that the duke of Burgundy set on foot this engine. He was not only the strict ally of the duke of Bretagne ; but, he had strongly opposed the king's march against that prince, and was naturally irritated at his own loss of all political power or influence. Charles was likewise recently recovered from a fever at Amiens, in which he had manifested some symptoms of a disordered

ordered understanding, which the phantom 1392.  
and fright were extremely calculated, in that   
superstitious age, to heighten into sudden  
frenzy.

The unhappy prince recovered his senses again, on the third day after the accident ; but, not that clearness of perception, and strength of understanding, which he had previously possessed ; and the expedition undertaken against Bretagne, being rendered abortive by his loss of reason, he was conducted back to Paris by his uncles\*.

The

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\* The account given of this extraordinary story, by the author of the “ Anonymous History of Charles the Sixth,” who was in the army at the time, and a spectator of the accident, is too curious entirely to omit ; especially as it differs in some particulars, from that of the other French historians, and may be regarded as highly authentic.—“ The king,” says he, “ during four  
“ days previous to this attack of frenzy, had betrayed  
“ evident marks of distraction in his gesture and dis-  
“ course. On the fifth of August, he ordered the troops  
“ to be drawn up, as if with an intention to review  
“ them. Having placed himself at their head, com-  
“ pletely armed, he led them on to a Lazaretto, at an  
“ inconsiderable distance from the city of Meus. At  
“ that moment, a beggar of a very mean appearance,  
“ rushed

1392. The incapacity of the king for the management of affairs, reducing him once more to a state of absolute tutelage; the necessity of vesting the royal power in more able hands, while his alienation of mind continued, brought forward to public notice, about this period, two personages, who had hitherto remained in a sort

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“ rushed from among the crowd, and approaching the  
 “ king, cried out,—‘ My prince, where are you going?  
 “ ‘ They are about to betray you.’ ”—He proceeds to relate the circumstance of the lance, which completing the king’s terror, produced an instant fit of frenzy. “ Charles,” continues he, “ killed three persons, besides the page who dropped his lance, one of whom  
 “ was a gentleman of Guyenne, called the Bastard of Polignac. His sword at length breaking in his hand,  
 “ he was with great difficulty disarmed and secured. “ The violence of the fit had so exhausted the king’s  
 “ strength, that he sunk down motionless and senseless. “ An almost insensible pulse about his heart, and some  
 “ remains of warmth, were the only indications that  
 “ he gave of life. Recovering on the third day, he  
 “ learnt with horror the misfortune which had befallen  
 “ him. He implored pardon and absolution for the  
 “ homicides which he had unknowingly occasioned;  
 “ received the sacrament, and solemnly vowed, as an expiation of his involuntary trespass, to visit the churches  
 “ of our Lady of Chartres, and of St. Denis. These  
 “ promises he religiously performed on his recovery.”

of

of obscurity: the queen, wife of Charles the sixth; and the duke of Orleans, his brother. 1392.   
The first of these, Isabella of Bavaria, was a princess of uncommon personal beauty. Fond of pleasures, even the most licentious, to which she sacrificed without restraint; her thirst of political power was not less insatiable: she possessed the most captivating address, and excelled in the arts of state intrigue. Violent, implacable, vindictive, and capable of actions the most cruel, as well as unnatural, in the pursuit of her favorite objects, she involved the kingdom in civil war, and foreign invasion; violated every feeling of a parent, by disinheriting her own offspring; and at length lived to become supremely odious and despicable, even to that party and nation, for whom she had sacrificed every consideration of public benefit, or of private humanity.


Louis, duke of Orleans, who was the only brother of the king, had just attained his twentieth year, when the insanity of Charles seemed to authorize him to lay claim to the regency. If his unripe age disqualified him in some measure for so high and important a

1392. public trust, his proximity of blood on the other hand, placed him by one degree nearer to the throne than his uncle and competitor, the duke of Burgundy. Louis's character resembled in many respects that of his uncle, the duke of Anjou, late regent. The same rapacity: equal, or greater profusion: more impetuous passions. Amorous from natural disposition, and formed by nature to succeed in gallantry, he set no bounds to his desires, and drew no veil over his excesses. Tho' married very early to Valentina Visconti, daughter of the duke of Milan, a princess of genius, beauty, and accomplishments, who was tenderly attached to him, he nevertheless indulged himself in all the libertinism of irregular pleasures; and after his brother's loss of reason, entered into connexions with his own sister-in-law the queen, which there is too much reason to suppose were criminal and incestuous. His ambitious views were however disappointed for the present, by the states general, who being assembled in this critical emergency, conferred the supreme administration of affairs on the duke of Burgundy.—Meanwhile the unfortunate king recovered in some degree



degree his health and intellects ; when another 1392.  
accident, scarcely less extraordinary than ~~~~~  
those events, by which he was first deprived  
of his understanding, again produced a fatal  
relapse.

During an entertainment given at court in 1395.  
honour of the marriage of one of the  
queen's attendants, at which the king was  
present and danced; a group of masques  
entered the apartment, linked together with  
chains, and habited to represent bears. The  
duke of Orleans, desirous to inspect them  
closely, took a flambeau in his hand; and  
holding it too near, unhappily set fire to their  
dresses, which being daubed with pitch, were  
instantly in a blaze: the room itself caught  
the flames, and three of the persons present  
were burnt to death. Every one anxious for  
their own individual preservation, forgot the  
king; and he was on the point of being in-  
volved in the effects of this catastrophe, when  
the duchess of Berri, with uncommon presence  
of mind, wrapping him in her mantle, pre-  
served him from the danger.—This violent  
shock, nevertheless, threw the king into a se-  
cond paroxysm of frenzy ; and, as the ideas  
of magic or sorcery were universally received

1393. in those times, the people imputed his re-  
 lapse to the effect of charms and incanta-  
 tions. After all the arts of medicine then  
 known had been exhausted, recourse was had  
 to magicians, processions, and fasts : but the  
 malady was incurable, and accompanied the  
 unhappy monarch, tho' with transient in-  
 tervals of reason, to the last moments of his  
 life.

1393      The government of France, during the suc-  
 to      ceeding years, presents a melancholy picture  
 1396.      of general confusion, approaching to anarchy.  
 The discordant interests and contending par-  
 ties of the two dukes of Orleans and Burgun-  
 dy, acquiring strength, grew up into factions  
 of rancorous and inveterate animosity. The  
 people were loaded with exactions the most se-  
 vere and oppressive. Order, economy, na-  
 tional honor, and internal tranquillity, were  
 banished from France. The wise and salutary  
 edicts of Charles the fifth were obliterated, or  
 counteracted ; and the kingdom, involved in  
 every domestic calamity, was only preserved  
 from a renewal of the English invasions, by  
 the existence of similar evils in that country,  
 which as yet prevented and retarded any  
 great national exertions.

In his temporary intervals of recovery, Charles was carried as a pageant, to ceremonies of state; during one of which he had an interview with the king of England, Richard the second, near Calais. The two sovereigns there formed an ill-assorted alliance between Richard and Isabella, a daughter of Charles, then only seven years of age; but, which marriage, in consequence of Richard's deposition, was never consummated. Soon afterwards the king was conducted to Rheims, there to receive a visit from Wenceslaus, the reigning emperor of Germany. That brutal and despicable prince, whom his subjects, weary of his excesses, at length justly deposed; amidst the splendor of his public reception, gave proofs of a subjection to his appetites, the most unrestrained and debased. So far did he abandon himself to their dominion, that the dukes of Berri and of Bourbon arriving in the morning, in order to conduct him to a banquet, where the king of France expected him; they found Wenceslaus senseless from the effects of intoxication,

1401. cation, and utterly incapacitated for partaking of the entertainment\*.

1402. When Charles relapsed into insanity, he became violent and intractable to such a degree, that he would not allow the queen to appear in his presence, and often proceeded even to use personal violence towards her†.

Valentina,

\* These visits of sovereign princes to each other, were common in that age. Charles the fourth, emperor of Germany, father of Wenceslaus, made a visit to Charles the fifth of France, at Paris, and was magnificently received.—Wenceslaus being totally incapacitated, from the effects of wine, for waiting on the king upon the day appointed, was regaled by him on the following day, when he exerted the greatest effort of restraint and self-denial over his appetites, in not intoxicating himself before dinner. The festivities and debaucheries of the two monarchs having rekindled, as might naturally be expected, Charles's madness, reduced him to the necessity of terminating the interview, and returning to his capital.

† The picture which Jean Juvenal des Ursins, (a contemporary writer of great credit), has given of the king's unhappy distemper, is so simple and touching, as highly to excite commiseration.

“ C'étoit grande pitié de la maladie du roi, et ne  
“ connoissoit

Valentina, duchess of Orleans, alone was ac- 1402  
ceptable to him ; and as her company or con- to  
versation always calmed his agitations, pro- 1404.  
ducing on him those effects, of which even  
lunatics are susceptible towards an object be-  
loved, this circumstance afforded her enemies  
an opportunity to render her odious to the  
people. They imputed all these symptoms and  
changes, to the operation of magical powers,  
which she was supposed to have used, in order

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“ connoissoit personne quelquconque. Lui-même se de-  
“ connoissoit, et disoit que ce n’étoit il pas. On lui  
“ amenoit la reine, et sembloit qu’il ne l’eut oncques  
“ vue : et n’en avoit point memoire, ne connoissance,  
“ ne d’hommes ou de femmes quelconques, excepté  
“ de la duchesse d’Orleans ; car il la voyoit et regar-  
“ doit très volontiers, et l’appelloit belle sœur. Et  
“ comme souvent il y a de mauvaises langues, on di-  
“ soit, et publioient aucuns, qu’elle l’avoit ensorcelé  
“ par le moyen de son Pere, le duc de Milan, qui étoit  
“ Lombard, et que en son pays on usoit de telles  
“ choses : et l’une de plus dolentes et courouccés qui  
“ y fut, c’étoit la duchesse d’Orleans, et n’est à croire  
“ ou presumer qu’elle eut voulu faire, ou penser.”

It appears by this account, with what contempt des  
Ursins justly treated the popular prejudices entertained  
against the duchess of Orleans, as having caused the  
king’s malady.

1402 to impair the king's health, and debilitate his  
to understanding. The administration mean-  
1404. while, fluctuated between the two rival fac-  
tions: that of Orleans obtained a short as-  
cendant, during which they exercised so se-  
vere an oppression, that the Burgundian party  
again regained the superiority: when the king  
once more emerging from a long fit of in-  
sanity, and influenced by the cries of his peo-  
ple, having deprived both the dukes of all au-  
thority, vested the government in the queen  
and council.

1404. The two factions, confirmed by perpetual  
competition, and inflamed by mutual injuries,  
for the misfortune of France, were transmitted  
to succeeding generations. Philip, duke of  
Burgundy, dying at this time in Brabant, his  
son John, surnamed "Sans Peur," succeeded  
to his ample territories, and more vast preten-  
sions. John possessed all the taste for magnifi-  
cence, and splendor of character, which so pecu-  
liarly distinguished the house of Burgundy,  
and seemed to be hereditary in their line. His  
intrepidity and love of power were not inferior  
to his munificence; and the extreme confusion  
which prevailed throughout the court and  
kingdom

kingdom of France, soon afforded him an opportunity to renew the scenes of violence, which had been acted under his father.

1402  
to  
1404.  
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Charles, who had again relapsed into the horrors of his former condition, could impose no permanent restraint on the oppressions or mal-administration of those, who possessed themselves of his authority. Isabella his queen, and the duke of Orleans, his brother, having formed connexions of the most intimate nature, divided between them the sovereign power. But, the clamors of the Parisians, scandalized on one hand at an alliance apparently cemented by the most immoral, or unjustifiable motives, and on the other hand driven to despair by the rapacity exercised over them; recalled the duke of Burgundy, who was received into the capital with acclamations. He immediately took his seat in the council: while the queen and duke retiring to the city of Melun, abandoned the metropolis to their competitor.

1404  
to  
1407.

The duke of Burgundy did not neglect the favorable occasion which their absence presented, in order to strengthen and confirm his influence. While he betrothed his daughter

to

1404 to the young Dauphin, Louis, eldest son of  
 to Charles, he affected an attention towards the  
 1407. unhappy king, whom his wife and brother had  
 shamefully abandoned to want, aggravated by  
 every variety of distress, during his fits of in-  
 sanity\*. He gained the affections of the people  
 by an alleviation of the taxes; and a forced  
 reconciliation having at last taken place be-  
 tween the parties, on which the queen returned  
 to Paris, the two dukes embracing, heard mass  
 together, and solemnly vowed on the holy sa-  
 craments, an eternal oblivion of past animosities.

1407. Those who reflect on the implacable spirit  
 Nov. of political factions, exasperated by reciprocal  
 outrages, in a ferocious age, will not be sur-  
 prized to find the duke of Orleans's assassination  
 following almost immediately after these marks

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\* Juvenal des Ursins draws a frightful and almost  
 incredible picture, of the miserable condition of Charles  
 the sixth in his paroxysms of frenzy. The governess of  
 the royal children confessed to him in one of his lucid  
 intervals, that she frequently had not wherewithal either  
 to feed, or to clothe them.—“ Alas!” answered the  
 king, with a sigh, “ I am myself no better treated.”—  
 He held in his hand at the same time, a golden cup, in  
 which he had just drank, and this cup he gave her for  
 the supply of his children's necessities.

of



of dissembled forgiveness and friendship. That prince was on his return home at night, from the Hotel de St. Pol in Paris, where he had passed the evening with the queen, who was recently recovered from child-bed. The duke being mounted on a mule, accompanied only by two or three servants, a Norman gentleman, named Ocquetouville, stimulated by revenge for the loss of an employment of which he had been deprived by Louis, surrounded him with eighteen assassins, in the "Rue Barbette." Cutting off the duke's hand with the first blow of a battle-axe, at the second, he struck him from his mule; and with the third, he clove asunder his skull, leaving him dead upon the ground. The whole band then effecting their escape, took refuge in the duke of Burgundy's palace.

The motives which gave rise to this detestable, as well as atrocious crime, are somewhat ambiguous and obscure: but the French historians do not fail to intimate, that they were more personal than political. The gallantries of the duke of Orleans were notorious: it is even pretended, that he had not only succeeded in a criminal amour with the duchess of Burgundy; but

1407. but had carried his boldness and insolence so far as to insult her husband, by introducing him into a cabinet, ornamented with the portraits of those ladies who had granted him favors, among which the duchess occupied a distinguished place\*. To whatever cause this assassina-


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\* Duhaillan assigns this amour as the immediate cause of his murder ; and Brantome confirms it as the tradition of his time, near two centuries afterwards. These are his words :

“ Louis, duc d’Orleans, aieul de Louis douze, s’é-  
 “ tant vanté tout haut dans un banquet ou étoit le duc  
 “ Jean de Bourgogne son cousin, qu’il avoit en son ca-  
 “ binet les portraits des plus belles dames dont il avoit  
 “ joui ; par cas fortuit, un jour le duc Jean entrant  
 “ dans ce cabinet, la premiere dame qu’il vit pourtraite,  
 “ et se presenta du premier aspect devant ses yeux, ce  
 “ fut sa noble dame et épouse, qu’on tenoit de ce temps  
 “ très belle.”

Yet, Olivier de la Marche, on the other hand, in his Memoirs declares, that the duke of Burgundy, too credulous, hastily believed the information given him, that Louis, duke of Orleans, had plotted to assassinate him ; and resolving to anticipate the blow, caused him to be assassinated. On the night of that catastrophe, it appears that Louis had passed a part of the evening with the queen Isabella. About seven o’clock, one of the king’s valets de chambre coming to inform the duke, that

Charles

assassination may be traced or ascribed, the 1407.  
kingdom long felt its pernicious consequences;   
and its perpetrator, the duke of Burgundy,  
met with an exact retribution many years  
afterwards, when he was in turn murdered on  
the bridge of Montereau.

If we contemplate the history of the reign  
of Charles the sixth, from this period to

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Charles wished to see him immediately on an affair of importance; he quitted the room, accompanied only by two gentlemen, and some footmen who carried torches. The Norman gentleman's name, who headed the band, and who dispatched him, was Raoullet Ocquetouville: he had been one of the duke's retainers; and Louis having caused his name to be struck out from among the list of the officers of his household, Ocquetouville determined on vengeance. The assassins, in order to elude pursuit, set fire to a neighbouring house, and scattered gins or traps in the streets. The duke of Burgundy affected at first the utmost sorrow for the duke of Orleans's death; he even attended Louis's funeral, lamented, and wept over him. But, when it was determined in council, to search the houses of all the princes and nobles, with a view to discover the murderers; he was so troubled and terrified, that taking the duke of Bourbon aside, he confessed to that prince, that he was himself the perpetrator of the crime. On the ensuing day he fled into Flanders, together with his assassins. These are the chief and most interesting particulars of that atrocious event.

the

1407. the battle of Azincourt, which took place near  
 eight years subsequent; we are compelled to  
 review a series of proscriptions, massacres, and  
 barbarities, almost unparalleled in any age  
 or country. Marius or Sylla never exer-  
 cised more unrelenting vengeance over their  
 vanquished enemies in ancient Rome, than  
 did the respective adherents of the dukes of  
 Orleans and of Burgundy, as they triumphed  
 by turns in Paris. The proscriptions of the  
 second triumvirate, so memorable in antiquity,  
 were revived and realized at the beginning of  
 the fifteenth century, in the capital of France.  
 Two thousand citizens are said to have pe-  
 rished in one carnage.

Charles, the young duke of Orleans, at that  
 time only sixteen years old, succeeding to his fa-  
 ther's pretensions, loudly demanded vengeance  
 1408. for his murder. Valentina of Milan, his mother,  
 widow of the assassinated prince, died of grief  
 and disappointed revenge, in the flower of her  
 age. The queen herself, thus deprived at once  
 of her lover and her faithful partizan, retired  
 from Paris, overcome with terror:—while the  
 duke of Burgundy, too powerful to be amenable  
 to punishment, not only avowed his crime,  
 but even attempted to excuse and justify it by  
 plausible

plausible reasons. The court, the capital, and the person of the sovereign, being alternately seized on by the opposite leaders; anarchy, and all the miseries of civil discord, unrepressed and unrestrained in the provinces, rendered France a scene of general misfortune.

The young Dauphin, Louis, eldest son of Charles the sixth, who began to appear, might have repressed these evils: but his character, fickle, inconstant, dissolute, and grasping at unlimited power, tho' destitute of judgment to exercise it to advantage, seemed rather formed to increase, than to diminish the accumulated calamities of the state. It is difficult to depict or exaggerate the misfortunes of France, during this humiliating period of its annals.

The king, as he regained from time to time some faint gleams of reason, and being rendered alternately subservient to every purpose of the predominant faction; appeared one while the protector of the duke of Burgundy, at another, the avenger of the duke of Orleans. During the returns of his insanity, he was often indecently neglected, without a suitable provision for his table, without pecuniary supplies sufficient to defray his ordinary expences, even almost without necessary changes of apparel.

1409 As he was likewise found to be usually intrac-  
 to  
 1413. table, and difficult to manage at these un-  
 fortunate periods, a young and beautiful mis-  
 tress was procured to attend on him. Of her  
 he became enamoured, as he had formerly  
 been of the duchess of Orleans, Valentina;  
 and she alone possessed any influence or as-  
 cendancy over him, when deprived of reason\*.

Paris, long oppressed and tyrannized, be-  
 came at length seditious; and as it had suf-  
 fered so severely from the abuse of the royal

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\* Odette de Champdivers, mistress to Charles, was the daughter of a dealer in horses; she was lively and engaging. The queen Isabella herself first presented her to Charles the sixth; and he soon became deeply attached to Odette. Her authority over him was so great, during his fits of frenzy, that she obtained the name of “*La Petite Reine* ;” under which title she is commonly known in history. The unhappy king, when seized with madness, would often persist to wear the same linen, how dirty soever; nor could any person except Odette induce him to desist from this resolution. Charles cohabited with her, and had by her a daughter named Margaret de Valois. Charles the seventh having acknowledged her as his natural sister, bestowed on her a very ample portion, and gave her in marriage to the Seigneur de Belleville, in Poitou. Claude, the last of their descendants, was killed at the battle of Coutras, in 1587, under the reign of Henry the third.

power,

power, attempted to repress its excesses, by 1409  
reducing it to narrower bounds. to  
1413.

Such was the deplorable condition of the kingdom in its interior, when the storm which had long menaced from without, but which had been protracted by various incidents, burst upon the French monarchy. Henry the fourth, king of England, who held his usurpation by a tenure too precarious, to permit him to engage in foreign wars, was lately dead. His son, a young prince to whom the crown descended by a sort of hereditary right, and who was endowed with all the qualities requisite to ensure success to his ambitious projects, saw and improved the opportunity, which was afforded him by the intestine divisions of France. Henry the fifth revived the antiquated and ill-founded pretensions of his predecessor Edward the third, to that crown. At the head of an army, he landed in Normandy; and in consequence of the headstrong impatience of his enemies, even more than by his own superior ability or valor, he gained at Azincourt a victory not less glorious than either of those won by his ancestors at Cressy and at Poitiers, from Philip of Valois

1415 and John. He then returned to England, carrying with him several captive princes of the blood, among whom was the duke of Orleans, and some of the first nobility of France.

At a moment when general consternation was thus added to all the convulsions of state, and when every domestic calamity was heightened by this foreign invasion, the Dauphin  
 Dec. Louis died. His character afforded no presage of happier times, nor could his death, however premature, be justly regarded as a national misfortune. A dysentery, occasioned by his irregularities, carried him off, tho' poison was suspected and pretended to have been the real cause. His brother, John, who succeeded to his rights and title, having married the duke of Burgundy's daughter, was necessarily a zealous  
 1416. partizan of that faction. By a singular fatality,  
 April. his death having likewise followed within a few months after the decease of the Dauphin Louis his elder brother, it was with more reason supposed that violent means had been used for that purpose. The malignity of party did not hesitate to accuse his mother Isabella of having destroyed him, by a present of a poisoned chain of gold. We may safely conclude that this  
 story



story is unfounded : but it cannot be considered as equally certain, that Louis, duke of Anjou, and king of Sicily, son to the prince who perished at Bari in Calabria, was not the author of the second Dauphin's death. Louis had married his daughter to Charles, duke of Touraine, the third and youngest of the king's sons, who afterwards ascended the French throne; and it is asserted, that in order to facilitate the accession of his son-in-law, he did not scruple to remove both the princes, Charles's elder brothers, who stood between him and the crown of France\*.

Charles,

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\* Mezerai seems to declare Louis, the first Dauphin, to have been poisoned. “ *Il tomba malade,*” says he, “ *d’un flux de ventre, dont il mourut, non sans des marques apparentes de poison.*”—But he does not mention the supposed perpetrators of this crime. It seems to be a fact much more universally established, that John, the second Dauphin, was put to death by violent means. Whether the king of Sicily, Louis of Anjou, was the author of it, can by no means be ascertained; but his ambitious and unprincipled character justified the suspicions of his contemporaries. Even the duke of Burgundy was accused in the sequel; tho’ it must be owned, with much less reason or probability. John expired at the age of eighteen, at Compiègne in

1416. Charles, destined by Providence to reinstate the monarchy, thus attacked on every side, had been educated in sentiments of the utmost detestation for the duke of Burgundy, and of corresponding attachment to the house of Orleans. The queen his mother, who had now united her interests with the former of those princes, was therefore sent by his express approbation, under a guard to the city of Tours, after he had caused to be executed a singular vengeance upon one of her paramours, named Louis Bois-Bourdon. This unhappy favorite, who was high-steward of the queen's household, on being put to the torture, is said to have confessed even more particulars than his enemies desired or expected to extort from him. Having therefore been tied up in a sack of leather, he was thrown by night

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Picardy. When we reflect on the successive deaths of two young princes, each of them heir to the French monarchy, within so short a space of time as four months, we cannot wonder that their contemporaries had recourse to poison, in order to account for events so extraordinary. The family of *Capet* furnishes at the commencement of the fifteenth century, almost as many tragical incidents, and atrocious crimes, as that of *Plantagenet* does shortly afterwards.

into

into the river Seine, with this label annexed, 1416.  
 “Laissez passer la justice du roi!”—An outrage, it must be owned, of the most cruel nature, which Isabella never pardoned, and which she afterwards severely revenged upon her son, as well as upon the kingdom of France.

The queen's imprisonment was of short duration : she was rescued by the duke of Burgundy, and being set by him at liberty, she assumed the regency. It is pretended that she manifested not less complaisance for the assassin of the duke of Orleans, than she had formerly shewn to that duke himself : nor is there any difficulty in believing, that a princess who was ever a slave to the most impetuous passions, and whose irregularity of manners was notorious, did not hesitate to gratify her protector and deliverer by every compliance with his wishes. Her age, which was about forty-six or forty-seven years at that time, forms no absolute objection to the probability of the fact, as she is universally allowed to have possessed the most captivating personal attractions\*.

At

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\* The contemporary writers in general accuse the duke of Burgundy of criminal connexions with the

1413

&amp;

1419.



At this time Henry the fifth landing again in Normandy, reduced all that fertile province under his subjection, unopposed by any enemy; while the queen and the duke of Burgundy, once more triumphant, re-entering the capital as conquerors, exercised the most sanguinary vengeance on their opponents. The person of the wretched king, who had long been the sport of every faction, remained in their possession; and the Dauphin Charles was scarcely saved from falling into their hands, by the vigilance and exertion of one of his most faithful adherents, Tannegui du Chastel. The English monarch, at the head of a victorious army, already approached Paris. He demanded the princess Catherine, daughter of Charles the sixth, in marriage, and the eventual succession to the kingdom of France, to-

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queen. Having carried her off from the church of Marmoutier, near Tours, he conducted her to Chartres. Pontus Heuterus, in his life of John "sans Peur," expressly mentions Isabella as *one* of his mistresses. These are his words—"Mulciosior patre multo fuit; "viva enim uxore, *pellices* non ignobiles habuit, "quorum facile princeps extremis vitæ temporibus, "Giaci fuit domina (de Giac), *ipsaque regis Caroli* "sexti uxor, non satis bene audivit."

gether

getier with the immediate investiture of the 1418  
 regency under his insane father-in-law. Isa- &  
 bella, unrestrained by any principles of honor 1419.  
 or duty, and stimulated by revenge, did not he-  
 sitate to comply with these ignominious and  
 haughty demands, tho' they necessarily ex-  
 cluded her own son from the succession. She  
 even repaired with the princess Catherine her  
 daughter, to the city of Troyes in Champagne,  
 where the nuptials with Henry were destined  
 to be solemnized. But the duke of Bur-  
 gundy, who was sprung from the royal blood  
 of France, and who had not yet lost the sense  
 of attachment to his sovereign and his coun-  
 try, paused at this last step. Aware of the  
 certain and irremediable consequences that  
 must result from its execution, he determined  
 to prevent them before it was too late. An  
 accommodation with the Dauphin, if it could be 1419.  
 effected, he was conscious, might yet re-esta-  
 blish the tottering state; Charles invited and  
 implored him to consent to it; while every  
 principle of public virtue demanded it at his  
 hands.

An interview for this great and salutary pur-  
 pose, was fixed between the parties to take place

1419. on the bridge of the town of Montereau-sur-Yonne ; where a total amnesty of past crimes, assassinations, and animosities, should be concluded on both sides ; to be followed by the future union of their arms and interests. But, whether the duke of Burgundy dreaded the vengeance due to the assassination of his cousin the duke of Orleans ; or whether, for other reasons, he suspected the Dauphin's sincerity ; it is certain that he did not arrive at the place of rendezvous, till after he had been waited for by Charles near fifteen days. The duke's mistress, the Lady of Giac, by a detestable act of treachery, having persuaded him at length to venture, overcame his reluctance. Every precaution was taken nevertheless, in order to provide for his safety : a barrier was erected on the bridge ; he placed his own guard at one end, and advancing with only ten attendants, threw himself on his knees before the Dauphin. At that instant, Tannegui du Chastel making the signal, leaped the barrier with some others, and giving him the first blow, he was almost immediately dispatched. Tho' the Dauphin was only in appearance a passive spectator of this assassination, yet it cannot be doubted

doubted that he was privy to its commission ; 1419.   
 nor does his youth, however it may palliate,  
 by any means exculpate him from the infamy  
 of such a participation, since he continued  
 his protection and favor to its perpetrators\*.

No

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\* There is a thick veil of uncertainty and darkness drawn over this foul transaction. It is difficult to conceive how any prince could have been induced to abandon every consideration of a public nature, and all the interests of the state or the monarchy, which were so closely connected with his reconciliation to the duke of Burgundy; in order, by the gratification of a private act of vengeance, to open anew the wounds of civil discord in his own family. The partizans of the Dauphin pretend, that the duke of Burgundy had intended to execute as bloody and perfidious a vengeance on Charles, at the bridge of Montereau, as he had done on the duke of Orleans, some years before, at Paris; but there is little probability in this assertion. Juvenal des Ursins expressly says, “ Que la dame de Giac, maitresse du  
 “ duc, fut celle qui le determina à se trouver à cette  
 “ entrevue.” If the solicitations of his mistress were requisite to induce the duke to go to the interview, it is not possible to suspect him of a premeditated design to assassinate the Dauphin. Tannegui du Chastel, and John Louvet, president of Provence, were the duke’s inveterate and mortal enemies. In order to delude him more completely, and to dissipate his apprehensions, the castle of Montereau was delivered over into

his

1419. No act commemorated in history, was ever more fatal in its immediate, as well as in its remote effects. Isabella, violent in her complaints, and bent on the utter destruction of her son, demanded exemplary punishment for so atrocious a crime. Philip, surnamed the Good, who succeeded his father John as duke of Burgundy, was in some measure compelled to espouse her cause, which became his own, from every principle of filial piety, and just as well as natural resentment. They resolved therefore to consummate without delay the projected marriage between the princess Catherine and the English monarch. It was solemnized soon afterwards at Troyes ; and by


1420.  
June.

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his possession, but, destitute either of provisions, or engines of defence. The duke having come down upon the bridge, with ten attendants, in the posture that he was, on his knees, it could not be difficult to dispatch him. Of the persons who accompanied him, only Archembaud de Foix, Seigneur de Noailles, attempted to defend his lord. He perished with the duke at the same moment. It seems impossible to acquit the Dauphin of a participation in this crime, which deeply stains his character, and in its consequences had nearly produced the expulsion of the family of Capet from the throne of France.

the



the articles of that union, she brought the kingdom of France in dowry to her husband. 1420. 

In consequence of an astonishing concurrence of circumstances, a foreign prince, himself the son of an usurper, appeared to be on the point of permanently reigning in France, and of transmitting the crown to his posterity. The Dauphin Charles, unable to resist so powerful a combination, retiring southward, began to fortify himself in the provinces beyond the Loire. Henry the fifth was not only proclaimed regent, but even took upon him to exercise the royal power, of which, from the disordered state of his mind, Charles the sixth was utterly incapable.

The defeat and death of Henry's brother, Thomas, duke of Clarence, which took place at the battle of Baugè, in Anjou, only appeared to protract for a short time the destruction of the Dauphin. The English prince returning from his own kingdom, prepared to push him to the last extremities: Charles was declared guilty of the duke of Burgundy's murder, was summoned to appear before a tribunal instituted to inquire into the crime, and there solemnly pronounced incapable of succeeding to the crown.

1421.  
April.

Henry

1422. Henry in person assuming the command, began his march from Paris, armed with the united forces of France and Burgundy. The moment seemed to approach of Charles's inevitable ruin; when, by one of those extraordinary incidents which baffle calculation, Henry, attacked by a disease, which the ignorance of his medical attendants, rather than its own violence or malignity rendered incurable, expired in the prime of his age, and in the vigor of his faculties. As far as human foresight can determine from appearances, if he had survived for any considerable length of time, the family of Valois, already depressed to so great a degree, must have been overwhelmed by such a multiplicity of concomitant circumstances, and an English prince might have permanently established his authority over France. But, by his death, an infant of nine months old, Henry the sixth, succeeded to the two crowns; and the Dauphin, aided by the loyalty of a few faithful followers who never abandoned him in his distress, finally restored his declining affairs.

The death of Henry the fifth was in other respects extremely critical, his father-in-law, the unhappy Charles, having survived him only

only fifty-six days. He breathed his last in 1422. the Hotel de St. Paul at Paris, attended in his dying moments by a single gentleman of the bed-chamber, a confessor, and an almoner. No funeral honors were paid him; not even a prince of the blood accompanied his remains to the grave; and the misfortunes that distinguished his life and reign, followed him to the tomb where he was deposited\*.

Oct.

It may here be natural to pause for a moment! A reflecting mind, which contemplates calmly the rapid changes of human affairs, and the revolutions of states; which regards all those effects imputed by the multitude to extraordinary interpositions, or to individual agents, as regularly flowing from fixed and stated general causes; which, comprehensive in its survey, enlarged in its conceptions, forms a solid estimate of things;—such a per-

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\* Charles the sixth was interred at St. Denis, without any royal solemnity; and as soon as the funeral rites were performed, a herald having cried aloud to exhort those present to pray for the repose of the king's soul, added immediately afterwards, "Vive Henri de Lancastre, roi de France et d'Angleterre!"

1422. son will find, at this remarkable æra of the French monarchy, ample field for speculation ; and will allow the justice of the observation, made by one of our greatest historians, “ That there is in all governments an ultimate point of depression and of elevation, at which affairs revert, and return in a contrary direction.”


## CHAP. II.

*Political condition of France.—Character of John duke of Bedford.—Accession and distresses of Charles the seventh.—Appearance of the maid of Orleans.—Character of Agnes Soreille.—Deaths of the queen dowager, and duke of Bedford.—Louis the Dauphin's treasonable practices, and flight.—Death of Agnes Soreille.—Circumstances of it.—Ultimate expulsion of the English from France.—The Dauphin's disobedience, oppressions, and retreat into Burgundy.—Charles's fruitless attempts to gain possession of his person.—The king's illness.—Death.—Character.*

THERE is perhaps no point of time in the history of France, more interesting to an English reader, than the period at which the last chapter terminated. The death of Henry the fifth, which happened at the very moment when he was preparing to overwhelm the Dauphin; followed by the decease of Charles the sixth, in consequence of which the crown devolved of right to his son Charles the seventh; seemed to be events so important, and productive of consequences so vast, that a change  
1422.

1422. the most sudden might be expected from them, in favor of the house of Valois. But, tho' the former of these incidents left the conquest of France incomplete, Henry's death did not absolutely prevent its future execution. In the person of John, duke of Bedford, left regent at this critical juncture, might be said to survive the spirit of his brother Henry. Even the French historians themselves represent him to us as a prince altogether worthy of the trust reposed in him, and capable of sustaining all the weight of government. He had just attained the prime of manhood; nor could the care of his nephew, Henry, who was still in the cradle, have been consigned to more virtuous, or to more able hands. The queen dowager Isabella, become the declared enemy of her own son; and Philip, duke of Burgundy, reduced by a sort of necessity to turn his arms against the protector of his father's assassins; increased and confirmed the regent's power: while all the northern provinces of France, and many of the southern, including Guyenne, were already reduced under subjection to the infant successor of Henry the fifth.

Charles

Charles the seventh, on the other hand, 1422.   
who had retired into the fortresses of the province of Cevennes, or among the mountains of Auvergne, in the most inaccessible and central portion of France; still in the period of his minority, and attended only by some princes of the blood, together with a few brave adventurers, who were animated by considerations of affection towards their country, and loyalty to their sovereign; could make only a feeble opposition to such powerful enemies. On the news of his father's death, he was saluted king by his little band of adherents, and was even subsequently crowned at Poitiers\*. But, to such extreme penury was he reduced, that all the pecuniary supplies which he could procure; tho' the queen his wife disposed of her plate and jewels for his subsistence; scarcely sufficed to provide for the immediate and most

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\* The Dauphin Charles, says Mezerai, was at the castle of Espailly, near Puy, in the province of Auvergne, when he received the news of his father's death. On the first day he wore mourning: but, on the ensuing morning, he dressed himself in scarlet, and after having heard mass, he ordered the banner of France to be elevated in the chapel. The nobles who adhered to him, then saluted him sovereign, with loud acclamations of "Vive le roi!"

1422. pressing wants of his household : and he was  
 driven to distresses only equalled by those  
 which Mary of Medicis, queen of France,  
 and her daughter Henrietta Maria, queen of  
 England, successively underwent during their  
 misfortunes, in the course of the seventeenth  
 century.

1422 During the first six years of his reign, the  
 to English arms, progressively advancing, may  
 1428. be said to have proved almost uniformly vic-  
 torious. Charles, under circumstances so ad-  
 verse, esteemed himself fortunate in gaining  
 over to his party, the celebrated Arthur,  
 Count de Richemont, brother to the reigning  
 duke of Bretagne, whose military talents were  
 highly esteemed in that age. But, the impe-  
 rious chieftain, rough and ferocious in his  
 manners, while he perpetually treated his so-  
 vereign with the most mortifying indignity,  
 exercised his power of Constable of France  
 against the king's dearest favorites, whom he  
 caused to be stabbed or drowned even in  
 the royal presence\*.

The


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\* The Constable, as the first proof of his power, com-  
 pelled the king to renounce for ever, and to banish  
 Louvet, and Tannegui du Chastel, to both of whom  
 he



The little court of Charles, perpetually transferred from place to place, was torn by intestine factions; and he would doubtless himself have fallen the victim of so many calamities, if, fortunately for France, similar or fiercer dissensions had not arisen between Philip duke of Burgundy, and Humphrey duke of Gloucester, youngest of the brothers of Henry the fifth. Jacqueline, Countess of Hainault, a princess equally beautiful and accomplished, with whom the latter prince had entered into a contract of marriage which was never completed, and of whose dominions he

1422  
to  
1428.




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he was most warmly attached. It must however be owned, that in exercising this act of severity on the two assassins of John, duke of Burgundy, Arthur merited his sovereign's esteem, tho' he might forfeit his favor. The Seigneur de Gyac, who succeeded to their place in Charles's affection, the Constable having seized on by force at Issoudun in Berri, while he was in bed; after some short forms of pretended justice, caused to be drowned.—Only a few months afterwards, he executed a similar vengeance on the Camus de Beaulieu, another gentleman who was obnoxious to his displeasure, and not less beloved by the king. The court happening then to reside at Poitiers; the Marechal de Boussac, by order of the Count de Richemont, killed the unhappy favorite in the public street, almost in his royal master's sight.

1422 attempted to take possession by force of arms,  
to  
1428. formed the subject of these deadly feuds.

~~~~~ In vain did Bedford, animated only by motives of the most patriotic nature, implore his brother to desist from his impolitic pretensions to the person and territories of Jacqueline. In vain did he represent to Humphrey, the interests of their common sovereign and nephew, Henry the sixth, and urge that the decisive moment was arrived in which to crush the family of Valois. Gloucester was deaf to his entreaties or expostulations; and that favorable juncture in public affairs, which if neglected, rarely or never returns, was irrecoverably lost to the English crown. The regent, nevertheless, tho' abandoned by his brother, and almost unsupported by his allies, continued to maintain the war. While the dukes of Burgundy and Gloucester were engaged in prosecuting their private quarrels, or pursuing their separate interests, Bedford found resources in his own character, in his justice, his affability, his munificence, and the clemency of his administration, which had attached to him even the inhabitants of Paris themselves.

The English, animated by a long train of  
success,

success, commanded by experienced leaders, 1422  
 and opposed to dispirited troops sinking under to  
 adverse fortune, at length undertook the me- 1428.  
 morable siege of Orleans. Tho' the famous ~~~~~  
 Count de Dunois, natural son of that Louis, 1429.  
 duke of Orleans, who was assassinated at  
 Paris; and himself one of the ablest com-  
 manders of that period, exerted every effort  
 of military skill against the besiegers, the place  
 was vigorously pressed, and must have speed-  
 ily surrendered. Charles the seventh, unequal  
 to farther resistance, already began to meditate  
 a retreat into the remote province of Dau-  
 phiné, and every event seemed to conspire  
 towards his destruction; when an occurrence  
 which may rank among the most singular  
 in the records of history, suddenly turned  
 the current in his favor, and finally restored  
 him to the throne of his ancestors.—This  
 event was the appearance of Joan of Arc,  
 commonly called the Maid of Orleans. A vil-  
 lage girl, of mean extraction, a native of the  
 duchy of Lorrain, either instigated by an en-  
 thusiastic conviction of supernatural assistance,  
 or instructed to feign such a belief, quitting  
 her obscurity, repaired to Chinon in Tou-  
 raine, a town where the court then resided.

1429.

However much we may suppose Joan herself to have been persuaded of her divine mission, it is scarcely possible to imagine that Charles, and his ministers or generals, accepted her offers from any other motive, than the desire of trying an extraordinary and desperate remedy in the inveterate disorders of the state. The age, it must likewise be remembered, was ignorant, credulous, and superstitious to a high degree : while the occurrence was exactly adapted, as well as admirably calculated, to meet their apprehensions, and awaken their religious terrors. At the time therefore, that the Count de Dunois exercised the real command, Joan, unfurling the sacred standard, denominated the “ *Oriflamme*,” placed herself at the head of the troops selected to throw succours into the city of Orleans. The experiment succeeded, probably even beyond expectation. Armed, as was supposed, with supernatural protection, she attacked enemies already overcome with their fears, and obtained an easy conquest.

May. Not satisfied with raising the siege of Orleans, which she speedily effected, and animated by the fortunate issue of her first experiment in the field, she prosecuted her success with

with incredible rapidity. One victory prepared the way for a second; and still advancing almost without opposition, through provinces which only a short time before had been totally subjected to the English, she conducted the king to Rheims, in which city he was solemnly inaugurated as sovereign of France. This reverse of fortune, which it is impossible to contemplate without astonishment, even at the distance of several centuries, and which rescued the family of Valois from the lowest stage of depression; was effected in the space of a few weeks, apparently by the interposition of an agent altogether unequal to operate so vast a change.

1429.

July.

The perfidy, or the imprudence of the governor of Compiègne in Picardy, delivered the Maid of Orleans at length into the hands of her enemies. Even under those circumstances, tho' defenceless, abandoned by her own party, and menaced with capital punishment, she behaved in the most heroic manner. Her enthusiasm, or the native courage and vigor of her mind, could alone have supported her against the fear of death. For, Charles the seventh, who had derived all the benefits which he expected from such an engine, to

1430.

1430. his dishonor does not appear to have made  
 any effort to procure her release. While, on  
 the other side, a barbarous resentment, unbe-  
 coming a generous nation, prompted the Eng-  
 lish, who had suffered so severely from her  
 attacks, to take a cruel and inhuman revenge.  
 The Maid of Orleans, to whom ancient Greeco  
 or Rome would have raised altars, and erected  
 temples ; who had rescued her country from a  
 foreign yoke, and her sovereign from a state  
 of the most abject distress ; was publicly burnt  
 at Rouen, as the unfortunate Leonora Galigai,  
 wife of the Marechal d'Ancre was likewise, near  
 two centuries afterwards at Paris, for the ima-  
 ginary crimes of sorcery and witchcraft.

1431 Meanwhile, tho' the duke of Bedford, in  
 hopes of re-animating the spirit of his de-  
 pressed countrymen, caused the young king  
 Henry the sixth his nephew, to be solemnly  
 crowned at Paris, no exertions could retrieve  
 the English affairs, or restore their former as-  
 cendant. Reciprocal exhausture having never-  
 theless weakened the two parties, the war lan-  
 guished on both sides, from their mutual in-  
 capacity of bringing new armies into the field.  
 Charles, naturally voluptuous, fond of pleasure,  
 and averse to serious or severe efforts of any  
 kind,

kind, which were ill-suited to his character and disposition, gladly quitted the fatigues of a camp, to indulge his passions. His heart, susceptible of strong impressions, had found an object peculiarly capable, as well as worthy of exciting them, in the person of the celebrated Agnes Soreille. She was born at the village of Fromenteau, near Leches in the province of Touraine. Her personal attractions, which are represented by all the contemporary historians as most seducing, were equalled by the liveliness of her temper, and the gaiety of her imagination. But, the circumstance which has deservedly entitled her to a distinguished place in history, and which has even justly endeared her to the French nation, is, that notwithstanding the almost unlimited influence over Charles which her charms and accomplishments procured her, she never forgot that he was a king ; nor permitted him, as far as depended on her exhortations, to sacrifice his honor and his interests, to the effeminate gratifications of his appetite. On the contrary, when he appears to have been sunk in indolence and inaction, she is said to have roused him from his lethargy, and to have  
excited

1431 excited him to exertions becoming his birth  
 to  
 1434. and dignity\*.



But,

\* The year of Agnes Soreille's birth was about 1409. Her extraction was noble, her father being Seigneur de St. Geran, and Condun. She had attained her twenty-second year when she first appeared at court, in the service of Isabella, wife to René of Anjou, and queen of Naples and Sicily. From that princess she passed into the train of Mary, wife of Charles the seventh. Her influence, which was during some time closely concealed, was only divulged by the promotion of all her relations to offices and dignities. "Accessit ad stupri suspicionem, propinquorum Agnetis ad dignitates ecclesiasticas repentina promotio," says Gaguin, in his life of Charles the seventh.

Her mind was elevated and noble. She ever attempted to inspire the king with a thirst of glory, and a wish to recover his dominions from the English. More than one historian of that century has related an anecdote of her, which places her grandeur of mind in the highest point of view. It is said, that Charles having in her presence consulted an astrologer respecting his own fortune, and his success against the English; Agnes, in her turn, demanded of him her future destiny.—The astrologer replied with the dexterity of a courtier, that "she was fated to be long beloved by a great monarch."—Suffer me then, sire, said Agnes, addressing herself to the king, to retire from your court, and to repair to that of the king of England, in order  
 to



But, the contest between the families of Valois and of Plantagenet, for the French crown, which, with only precarious intervals, had already lasted for near a century, and which in its prosecution had exhausted the strength of both kingdoms, was now drawing towards its final close. Philip, duke of Burgundy, the best ally of Henry the sixth, who had hitherto supported the English cause from just resentment towards his father's assassins; at length relenting, resumed the sentiments natural to a prince of the blood of France.

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to fulfil my destiny! He, unquestionably, is the object of the prediction, since you are on the point of losing your crown, which Henry is about to unite to his own.—Charles, it is said, was not insensible to the delicacy and severity of the reproof.—The time when this anecdote is placed, and supposed to have happened, is in 1432, at the period when Henry the sixth had been solemnly crowned at Paris, king of England and France.

Francis the first, a prince who well knew how to estimate merit, honored and cherished her memory. The four elegant lines which that great monarch composed in her praise, are well known, and may serve to prove that in his time, the opinion of Agnes's patriotic sentiments, was generally admitted.

“ Gentille Agnes ! plus d'honneur tu merite,

“ La cause étant de France recouvrer,

“ Que ce que peut dans un cloître ouvrir

“ Clause Nonain, ou bien devote hermite.”

After

1435. After having long fluctuated in uncertainty between the two sovereigns, Philip yielded to sentiments of forgiveness, and concluded with Sept. Charles a treaty at Arras. The duke's defection was a mortal and irrecoverable blow to the interests of England. The queen dowager Isabella, whose unnatural conduct towards her son had justly rendered her an object of public detestation, expired of sorrow and consternation at this unwelcome intelligence\*. And, as if to complete the national calamity,

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\* Isabella of Bavaria, one of the worst queens who has reigned in France, survived the unhappy Charles the sixth, her husband, about thirteen years. John Boucher, a writer not far removed from the time in which she lived, relates the particulars of her death very minutely in his "*Annales d'Aquitaine*."—"Incontinent après le traité d'Arras," says he, "Madame Ysabeau de Baviere, veuve de feu roi Charles six, qui avoit été longuement entre les mains des Anglois, en grande inigence et pauvreté, fut averti du dit accord et appointment, et en mourut de douleur en l'hotel du roi, près St. Paul à Paris; et fut son corps mené à St. Denis, et enterré en la chapelle des rois, près du feu Charles six son mari. Elle n'eut que quatre clerges, et quatre personnes à son enterrement. Ce fut grand' honte aux Anglois, qui l'avoient en leurs mains, qu'ils ne lui firent aucun honneur à ses exeques."

nity, the regent duke of Bedford, whose judicious policy had hitherto principally preserved the declining affairs of his country, in that swift decay to which they apparently hastened, died nearly at the same juncture. 1435.

These events finally decided the struggle. 1436  
After an absence of fifteen years, the Parisians received their native prince again into his ca-

Her son, Charles the seventh, being born at the time when her intimacy with Louis duke of Orleans, was carried to the greatest height, gave some probability to the report that he was the offspring of their incestuous amours. It is said that even the English, whom Isabella had so highly obliged, at the expence of honor, nature, and maternal affection, were ungenerous enough to reproach her with this humiliating circumstance. Mazerai says, “*Ilis prenoient plaisir de lui dire en face, que le roi Charles n'étoit pas fils de son mari.*” —Gaguin uses nearly the same words: “*Nulla re magis irritata, quam quod Carolum regem, ejus filium, incesto concubitu natum, Anglus diffamabat.*” Her death is justly said to have been hastened, if not occasioned, by the unexpected and rapid change in the affairs of Charles the seventh, her son.

The funeral of Isabella was meaner than that of a private gentlewoman. Her body, after being conveyed in a little boat on the Seine, to St. Denis, attended only by four persons, was interred; and the prior of St. Denis performed the service, not a prelate being present, nor any solemnities paid to her remains.

1436  
to  
1439. pital, with loud acclamations; and Charles,  
whose whole reign had been hitherto passed  
in combating foreign enemies, began to taste  
the pleasures of domestic tranquillity. The  
condition to which France was reduced, notwithstanding, at this period, exhibited a renewal of the same calamities which had distinguished the reign of John, and the first years of Charles the fifth, subsequent to the peace of Bretigny. A degree of disorder prevailed in the provinces, approaching to anarchy. The misfortunes inseparable from war, were followed by pestilence and famine. The soldiery, unemployed and unpaid during the frequent truces which from mutual exhausture took place between the two crowns, ravaged with impunity the possessions of the defenceless peasants. Unfortunately the royal power was not as yet sufficiently confirmed, to allow the sovereign to extend any permanent and effectual remedy to these national evils. And as Charles appears to have resided principally in the royal castles situated on the banks of the river Loire, or in the province of Berri, Paris is said to have been so depopulated and abandoned, that the wolves ventured even into the principal streets of the metropolis, and  
carried

carried off the children of the citizens.—A cir- 1436  
cumstance which, if authentic, indicates a state to  
of misery, without parallel in the history of 1439.  
modern Europe! ~~~~~

An earnest desire of redressing the griev- 1439  
ances under which his subjects labored, in- to  
duced the king to propose terms of pacifica- 1444.  
tion to the English government, which in  
the present declining and distracted situation  
of their affairs, could neither be esteemed in-  
glorious nor disadvantageous to that crown.  
The two rich provinces of Normandy and of  
Guyenne were offered by Charles to be ceded  
to Henry in perpetuity, under condition of ho-  
mage. Sound policy should not only have  
inclined the ministers to accept of these con-  
cessions; but ought unquestionably to have  
dictated a renunciation of the claim to the  
throne of France, which had already been pro-  
ductive of infinite misfortunes to both coun-  
tries; and which, even if it could have been  
realized, must in the event have rendered Eng-  
land a province of the French monarchy. To  
weaken, and to divide France, by dissevering  
from Charles's sceptre, some of the finest ma-  
ritime provinces, might have been practicable,  
and would have been highly advantageous.

Unfor-


1439  
to  
1444. Unfortunately, these opinions did not prevail in the councils of Henry the sixth. That prince, one of the weakest who ever swayed a sceptre, meek and superstitious, was ill qualified to conduct, or to extricate a state, in conjunctures delicate and critical. After the decease of the duke of Bedford, two great factions, that of the cardinal of Winchester, and that of Humphrey duke of Gloucester, divided the court: while the nation, accustomed to triumph in every preceding contest with France, and still supported by the recollection of the victories of Henry the fifth and Edward the third, could not descend to adopt those temporizing measures dictated by the change of circumstances. Tho', from necessity, a suspension of arms was accepted, and concluded for a limited period, the English ministers did not recede from their ancient and ill-founded pretensions on the crown and kingdom of France. That country continued, nevertheless, to rise in the scale of power, proportionably as England relapsed into faction and internal dissensions. While the court and cabinet of Henry were torn by contending parties, Charles had the gratification to see a final period put to the inveterate and hereditary animosity

animosity which had so long subsisted between the houses of Burgundy and of Orleans: The first of these princes, Philip, justly surnamed the Good, by an effort of magnanimity rarely commemorated in the history of mankind, desirous to bury in oblivion the unhappy dissensions of the two families, which had been so fatal to the tranquillity of France; restored the duke of Orleans to liberty. That prince had languished in captivity for the space of five-and-twenty years, in England, ever since the battle of Azincourt. His ransom, which amounted to the enormous sum of three hundred thousand crowns, was paid by the duke of Burgundy. On the duke of Orleans's return from England, they met at Gravelines, embraced, and exchanged mutual forgiveness.

1439  
to  
1444.

During the tranquillity consequent on the truce between the two nations, Charles, occupied alternately in the pursuits of licentious pleasure, in conviviality, and the amusements of the chase, indulged his natural propensity for these recreations, which had succeeded to the fatigues of war. The beautiful Agnes Soreille possessed and exercised an almost unlimited influence over him. But, after having

1445  
&  
1446.

1445  
&  
1446.  vanquished his foreign enemies, he was destined to find more implacable adversaries in the bosom of his own family. Providence had prepared for him in the person of his eldest son, a source of disquiet more keen and afflicting, than any external calamities or opponents could have proved. The Dauphin Louis, who had already attained his twenty-second year, tho' the king was still in the vigor of his age, became the scourge of Charles and of France. That young prince, when only sixteen, had already committed acts of rebellion against his father, who nevertheless forgave his misconduct: but every instance of paternal tenderness was lost on his obdurate and unfeeling mind. Discontented, and anxious to anticipate the period of his succession to the supreme power, he not only refused subjection to his sovereign, but proceeded to the most irritating and criminal insults on his authority. An incident, which as it peculiarly marks the early character of Louis, and was likewise followed by very important consequences, it is necessary to relate, took place at this juncture.

1446. A nobleman of the court having had the misfortune to offend the Dauphin, that prince, highly



highly incensed, and determined on revenge, 1446.  
 applied to the Count de Dammartin, whom he  
 induced by promises of recompense to under-  
 take the assassination of the offender. But  
 the Count, being dissuaded by his brother  
 from the perpetration of so unmanly and das-  
 tardly a crime, afterwards refused to adhere to  
 the engagement which he had rashly made,  
 and frustrated the Dauphin's meditated ven-  
 geance.

The affair having come to the king's know- 1446  
 ledge, he severely reprimanded his son. Louis, &  
 in order to conceal his own guilt, accused the 1447.  
 Count of having suggested to him the means  
 of effecting the assassination. But, Dam-  
 martin, jealous of his wounded honor, not  
 only denied the accusation in the royal pre-  
 sence: he likewise offered, according to the  
 established laws of chivalry, to justify himself  
 from the imputation, in single combat against  
 any of the Dauphin's household or adherents.  
 Charles, whose character was peculiarly open,  
 generous and candid, clearly perceived the  
 malignity of his son: such were the senti-  
 ments of indignation which it excited in his  
 mind, that, ordering Louis to quit his pre-  
 sence,

1446 sence, he commanded that prince not to ap-  
 &  
 1447. pear again at court for the space of four  
 ~~~~~ months. The Dauphin obeyed, tho' not  
 without menaces; and instantly retiring into  
 the province of Dauphiné, he there main-  
 tained, as in an independent principality, a  
 sort of royal establishment; nor did he return  
 from thence into the interior of France, till  
 1448. after the decease of the king\*.

The war between the French and English  
 crowns, which had been suspended for several  
 years, at length recommenced; but success,  
 which at the beginning of Charles's reign had

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\* Other causes and motives of a domestic nature are  
 likewise supposed to have conduced to inflame the dis-  
 pute between Charles the seventh and his son. The  
 Dauphin, who was the declared enemy of Agnes Soreille,  
 complained loudly of her influence over the king. It is  
 pretended, that he carried his resentment against her so  
 far, as once to give her a blow; and this incident is said  
 to have happened at the castle of Chinon, where Charles  
 frequently held his court. Agnes, it is added, having  
 demanded reparation for such an insult, the king, in  
 consequence, ordered his son to retire into Dauphiné.  
 Belleforet, in his annals, tho' he admits the existence  
 of the quarrels between Louis and Agnes, yet disputes  
 the authenticity of this anecdote, which rests indeed,  
 principally on the assertions of Gaguin and of Varillas.  
 almost

almost constantly attended on his enemies, <sup>1448.</sup>  
 now declared as uniformly in his favor. En-  
 couraged by the loyal adherence of his sub-  
 jects, he ventured to undertake the conquest  
 of the extensive province of Normandy; the  
 most valuable and important, from its mari-  
 time situation, added to its proximity, of all  
 the English foreign acquisitions. The siege of  
 Rouen having been formed by the king in  
 person, and vigorously prosecuted, he re-en- <sup>1449.</sup>  
 tered it in triumph. The celebrated Count  
 de Dunois seconded with ability the efforts of  
 his sovereign; and in the course of a few  
 months that vast province, which Henry the  
 fifth had dismembered thirty years preceding,  
 and which had so long constituted an integral  
 part of the English dominions, was finally and  
 permanently re-annexed to the French mo-  
 narchy.

The exultation which Charles must have <sup>1450.</sup>  
 necessarily felt from the results of this victo- <sup>Feb.</sup>  
 rious campaign, was greatly diminished by  
 the loss of his mistress, who expired of a  
 dysentery, at the abbey of Jumieges, near  
 Rouen; to which place she had purposely re-  
 paired in order to meet the king, with a view

1450. to inform him of a conspiracy meditated against his person. 'Tho' the contemporary authors express themselves with studied ambiguity relative to this event, there is some reason to believe that the Dauphin himself was concerned in the plot. It has been even asserted, tho' probably without truth, that Agnes's death was the effect of poison administered by his express command\*. The king deeply

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\* After the unhappy disputes which took place between Agnes and the Dauphin, she retired to Loches in Touraine, where she resided in a castle which Charles the seventh had constructed for her, and appeared no more at court till the end of the year 1449. Her influence over the king, seems, however, to have suffered no diminution by this voluntary separation from him, of near five years. It was the queen herself, Mary of Anjou, who, from a desire of ingratiating herself with the king her husband, prevailed on Agnes Soreille to return to Paris; whence she proceeded to Jumièges, where Charles remained at that time, during the conquest and reduction of Normandy.—Several of the writers who flourished near the time of Agnes's death, attribute it to poison, and accuse the Dauphin Louis as the author of this crime. These accusations, nevertheless, appear to be founded more on the general character of Louis, than on any authentic proof. Chartier, and Monstrelet, both assert, that she died of a Diar-

deeply and sincerely lamented her ; nor can <sup>1450.</sup>  
 it be doubted, that the great qualities of her  
 mind, and the elevation of her sentiments, en-  
 titled her to the esteem of the French nation,  
 no less than to the personal attachment of the  
 sovereign. The lady of Villequier, her niece,  
 by a sort of inheritance in gallantry, succeeded  
 to her place in Charles's favor and affection\*.

The

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a Diarrhea.—She was interred in the collegiate church  
 at Loches ; and so far was Louis the eleventh, when  
 he ascended the throne, from treating her memory  
 or her remains with disrespect, that he betrayed true  
 greatness of mind in his conduct respecting her. The  
 canons of Loches, having from a servile desire to gra-  
 tify the king, proposed to destroy her Mausoleum,  
 notwithstanding the bequests which by her will she  
 had given to them ; Louis, so far from permitting or  
 acquiescing in this proposal, reproached them with  
 their ingratitude to their benefactress, ordered them  
 to fulfil all her injunctions, and added six thousand  
 livres to the charitable donations which Agnes had  
 originally made to the church of Loches.

\* Agnes Soreille, who was created by Charles the se-  
 venth, Countess of Penthievre, and lady of Beauté sur  
 Marne, was in her fortieth year when she died, leaving  
 three daughters by the king. They were publicly  
 recognized and owned as such, by Charles the seventh,  
 as well as by Louis the eleventh ; they were even deno-

1450 The reduction of Normandy, however con-  
 siderable, yet under the prosperous circum-  
 1453. stances of the French monarchy, formed only  
 a prelude to new acquisitions. The king, ani-  
 mated by his past success, resolved to improve

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minated "Filles de France," and styled natural sisters to the latter king. Louis the eleventh gave forty thousand crowns of gold, as a portion in marriage with the youngest, Jane, at her nuptials with the Count de Sancerre. Charlotte, the eldest, who was married to Jacques de Brezé, Count de Maulevrier, met with a death, which tho' perhaps deserved, was truly deplorable. She is said to have equalled her mother in beauty; but a fatal amour which her husband discovered, proved her ruin. Jean de Troyes has related the circumstances of it; which are so affecting, as to merit insertion without any alteration:—"Elle étoit  
 "allé à la chasse avec lui; à leur retour chacun se  
 "retiroit dans son appartement; Brezé fut averti que  
 "sa femme s'étoit retirée avec Pierre de la Vergne, son  
 "vendeur; il prend son épée, fait briser la porte, trouve  
 "la Vergne en chemise, et le tue. Sa femme s'alla  
 "cacher sous la couverture d'un lit où étoient couchés  
 "ses enfans. Il la tira du lit, et lui plongea son épée  
 "dans le Sein: elle étoit à genoux; elle tomba morte."  
 —Louis the eleventh obliged the Count de Maulevrier to purchase a remission of this murder, by an enormous fine. The celebrated Madame de la Fayette, one of the ornaments of the reign of Louis the fourteenth, was descended from Pierre de la Vergne.

the favorable moment, and to attempt the object, of which his grandfather Charles the fifth's death had prevented the accomplishment seventy years earlier; the entire expulsion of the English from every part of his dominions. The two great maritime provinces of Guyenne and Gascony still remained in their possession: the inhabitants, governed during several centuries by the English laws, were affectionately attached to their foreign masters, and a very vigorous, perhaps effectual, defence might have been made; but civil confusion aided Charles's arms. The quarrel between the contending houses of York and Lancaster, which deluged England with blood, was already on the point of breaking out. No timely aid was sent by the feeble ministers of Henry the sixth, to the assistance of his Gascon subjects. Four armies, commanded by the ablest generals of France, entering these distant and exposed provinces, made the most rapid progress: while only one effort was exerted on the part of the English government for their preservation, by sending thither the great Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, and his son, who both perished in the memorable battle of Castillon.

1453. tillon. Bourdeaux and Bayonne, the two  
July. principal cities, opening their gates to the conqueror, submitted; and Charles the seventh, who had acceded to the French crown under circumstances the most distressful, completed what neither the policy nor the courage of his ancestors had been able to effect.

The English, on the other hand, who from the period of the Norman conquest, during near four hundred years, had always maintained themselves in some part or portion of the French monarchy; who had possessed the provinces along the shore of the Atlantic, and on the Garonne, quite to the foot of the Pyrenees, since the middle of the twelfth century; and who had been more than once apparently on the point of subjecting to their dominion, the kingdom of France itself, were nearly expelled from the continent. The battle of Castillon may be said to have terminated the long struggle between the families of Valois and Plantagenet. Of all their former conquests, Calais and its contracted territory, the shadow of their ancient greatness, alone remained to England.

But if Charles was victorious and fortunate



as a king, he was destined to experience as <sup>1453</sup>  
a father, a widely different fate. His un- <sup>to</sup>  
grateful and unnatural son became his most <sup>1455.</sup>  
implacable enemy. Several years having al-  
ready elapsed since Louis's departure from  
court, the king had frequently commanded  
him to return to his obedience, but in vain.  
Charles's conquests over the English had even  
been impeded, and his progress suspended at  
a critical period, by a dangerous insurrection  
of the Dauphin and the duke of Savoy. In  
addition to this act of open rebellion, Louis's  
exactions and oppressions in the province of  
Dauphiné, where he exercised a sort of unli-  
mited and royal power, independent of the  
crown, were grown insupportable. Charles,  
irritated by such disobedience, and weary of  
his continued misconduct, at length commis-  
sioned the Count de Dammartin to seize his  
person. That nobleman, to whose honor he  
had formerly done the greatest and most sen-  
sible injury, proceeded instantly to execute  
the order : but Louis, who had received timely <sup>1456.</sup>  
intelligence of his father's intention, saved him-  
self by a precipitate flight into the province  
of Franche Comté, whence he afterwards  
continued his retreat into Brabant.

1456. Philip, duke of Burgundy, sovereign of both those countries, either influenced by sentiments of personal generosity and courtesy, or actuated by deeper motives of policy, received him, and afforded him an asylum. He even assigned Louis a pension of twelve thousand crowns for his subsistence, and gave him the castle of Gueneppe near Brussels, for his residence. Here the Dauphin endeavoured at first to amuse and occupy his unquiet mind, by the study of astrology, to which he was ever immoderately addicted. But afterwards, with that malevolent duplicity which so strongly marked his character at every period of his life, and notwithstanding all the benefits which the house of Burgundy had conferred upon him, he attempted to sow the seeds of discontent between the duke and his son, Charles, Count de Charolois; an endeavour in which he succeeded but too well for their mutual repose.

1456 The king exerted in vain every amicable  
 to  
 1458. means of expostulation and remonstrance, to induce the duke of Burgundy to deliver up to him the Dauphin. By a prediction founded on his knowledge of Louis, and fully justified by his future conduct, he even warned Philip that

that he was nourishing a serpent, which, when 1456  
warned, would strike its deadly fangs into &  
the bosom of its protector. Charles had even 1458.  
embraced the resolution of entering Flanders  
at the head of an army, in order to seize the  
rebellious prince : but laying aside that inten-  
tion, he determined rather to deprive him of  
the succession, and to devolve the crown to  
his younger son Charles, duke of Berri. It  
is probable that he might have effected this  
design, if death had not prevented him.

During the latter years of his life, Charles, 1459  
who had grown distrustful, suspicious, and un- &  
easy, became perpetually apprehensive that 1460.  
the Dauphin's vindictive spirit might push  
him to attempts the most atrocious, against  
his person. While he held his residence at the  
castle of Meun-sur-Yeu in the province of  
Berri, he received repeated information, that  
his own domestics had plotted to destroy him.  
Terrified at an intimation so alarming, and no 1461.  
longer knowing on whose attachment or fidelity  
to rely, the king refused obstinately to receive  
any nourishment during some days : and when  
at length, induced by the importunity of his  
attendants, he attempted to eat, nature was

1461. no longer able; he could not swallow any  
 ~~~~~  
 July. sustenance, and soon after expired.

The character of Charles is amiable, tho' not elevated. He possessed almost all those qualities which conciliate affection, and captivate the heart. Courteous, gallant, liberal, amorous, and brave; yet perpetually sinking, from natural disposition, into an effeminate and enervate indolence, which he could not resist; and again emerging into the practice of many of those virtues which distinguish a hero and a sovereign. His mind seems to have been unequal to efforts of renunciation, or of exertion, long continued; and it has been asserted, not without some degree of justice, that France owed its emancipation from the English yoke, more to Charles's generals or ministers, than to himself. Born to experience every vicissitude of fortune, and after triumphing over his political enemies, to find domestic foes more difficult to subdue, he may be accounted a fortunate monarch, but an unhappy individual.

Tho' attached too closely to his favorites, and sometimes led by that attachment into errors, he never used his authority with rigor,

nor

nor oppressed his people by heavy pecuniary impositions. His reign, distinguished by the entire expulsion of the English from the dominions of France, is one of those on which the French historians naturally dwell with peculiar complacency. The kingdom, long enfeebled by every species of foreign and internal commotion, began to recover from the shocks which it had sustained; and no longer nourishing, as it had done for ages, in its vitals, an active and powerful enemy, grew more confirmed in its internal administration, as well as of more weight in the general scale of Europe. By a similar progression, the royal power, hitherto shackled and limited by the feudal regulations, acquiring gradually strength, became wider in its influence, and more resistless in its supremacy. Under the subsequent reign, it was carried by Charles's successor, to a point of the most extensive and uncontrouled despotism. 1461.

## CHAP. III.

*Character of Louis the eleventh, and commencement of his reign.—Interview with Henry the fourth, king of Castile.—Louis's violence and oppressions.—League of the public good.—Accession and character of Charles, last duke of Burgundy.—Interview of Peronne.—King's imprisonment, and terrors.—Death of Charles duke of Berri.—Interview with Edward the fourth, at Pecquigni.—Louis's insidious policy.—The duke of Burgundy's attempts on Switzerland, battle of Nancy, and death.—Burgundy reunited to France.—Conclusion of Louis's reign.—His cruelties.—First stroke of an apoplexy.—His pilgrimage.—His increasing severity.—Minute circumstances of his illness.—Death.—Character.—Mistresses.*

1461.



WE are entering upon a reign of the most extraordinary and singular nature. A prince odious in his character, detestable in his principles of conduct; violating every maxim of honorable or virtuous policy; deviating frequently even from the rules of self-interest; uniformly

formly flagitious, and systematically bad : yet <sup>1461.</sup>  
 attaining by the mazes of an insidious and eccentric subtlety, to the completion of almost all his views ; and finally acquiring a prerogative and authority unknown to any of his predecessors. Such is Louis the eleventh. The detail of his actions as a king, will too well prove the justice of the portrait.

So universally disliked had the rebellion and ingratitude of Louis, while Dauphin, rendered him, that a considerable party was already formed among the nobility in the court of Charles the seventh, to place that prince's youngest son, the duke of Berri, on the throne. But the Count du Maine, one of the Dauphin's most powerful adherents, having sent intelligence to Louis of his father's death, he lost not a moment in availing himself of the information. Philip, duke of Burgundy, who had been long his protector, and was now become his vassal, mounting on horseback, together with his son the Count de Charolois, attended the new king to Rheims, where he caused himself to be immediately inaugurated.

The opening of his reign was instantly marked with all those changes and alterations, 1462  
&  
1463.

1462 customary on the accession of princes ; and  
 &  
 1463. peculiarly to be expected on that of one who  
 ~~~~~  
 had lived in open enmity with the preceding sovereign. Every maxim of government which had been adopted by Charles, was reversed by Louis : all the late king's officers or favorites were degraded with ignominy, and new ministers were advanced to power. The duke of Alençon, a prince of the blood royal, who had been committed to prison in the late reign, for treasonable practices, was released ; and the Count de Dammartin was committed to the Bastile. The nobility were dispossessed of their offices, and the people loaded with exactions : the dominions of the duke of Bretagne were invaded ; and the duke of Berri, his own brother, was arbitrarily deprived by Louis of his establishment.

1463. After commencing his government in a manner so strongly characteristic of his future measures, Louis hastened into the province of Gascony, to an interview with Henry the fourth, surnamed the Impotent, king of Castile. The two sovereigns met at the town of Mauleon, on the confines of the kingdom of Navarre, and formed a contrast not a little remarkable. Henry, vain, magnificent, haughty,



haughty, and sumptuous, attended with a splendid train. Louis, with no external marks of royalty: mean in his person; clad in coarse cloth, short and unbecoming; wearing a leaden image of the Virgin in his bonnet; and slenderly accompanied. After a fruitless conference, the two princes returned into their respective dominions, impressed with sentiments of mutual contempt and alienation. 1463.

As Louis became confirmed in the throne, his character gradually unfolded itself. The line of crooked policy which he pursued, made him ever attentive to the means of contracting and diminishing the power of all the great vassals of the crown. Among these, Philip, duke of Burgundy, held the first place: Francis, duke of Bretagne, the second. Against the former he exerted the arts of intrigue; and, by means of a secret correspondence which he kept up in his court, procured the restitution of those towns on the river Somme, ceded by Charles the seventh at the treaty of Arras, to Philip, which made him master of all Picardy. As the object of this negotiation was effected in contradiction to the sentiments of the Count de Charolois, 1463 & 1464.

1463 son and successor of Philip, it laid the found-  
 &  
 1464. ation of that personal hatred which he ever  
 bore the king, and which Louis increased by  
 the tenor of all his subsequent conduct.


With the latter of these princes, Francis, as less powerful, he scarcely observed any measures; and the mandates which Louis sent him, were of the most despotic, as well as imperious nature: they prohibited him from levying any taxes in his dominions, from coining money, or from terming himself “ Duke, “ by the grace of God.” Restrictions of so rigorous a description, would at once have deprived him of all independence, or sovereignty. Francis the second, a weak, but a generous prince, was at this time duke of Bretagne. Unable openly to refuse compliance with these haughty orders, he affected to submit to them; while he privately set on foot the means to restrain a power, which threatened the subversion of every other in its vicinity.

Desirous nevertheless to strengthen his proceedings by the appearance of a national concurrence, the king assembled the states general, and laid before them his pretended reasons for so unparalleled an act of despotism.

Charles,

Charles, duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, who was equally respectable from his age, and beloved for his virtues, presumed to disapprove and to oppose his measures. But the unfeeling Louis reproached and reprimanded him in expressions so poignant and severe, that the duke, unable to survive this humiliating treatment, died of grief and mortification only two days afterwards. His death, which might be considered as a national misfortune, did not soften the heart, or appease the resentment of his relentless sovereign: it was perpetuated in a breast which never forgave, which knew no emotions of tenderness, and respected no ties of consanguinity. The family of Orleans possessed the most well-founded pretensions to the duchy of Milan, in right of Valentina Visconti, mother of the deceased duke: but Louis, far from espousing these claims, allied himself with Francisco Sforza, who had usurped the Milaneze on the extinction of the house of Visconti; and secured him in the possession of those fertile territories, from motives of hatred to the princes of his own line.

These reiterated acts of violence and oppression.

1465.  pression, produced in the end a general convulsion. The first nobility, roused by past indignities, and apprehensive that they would become more intolerable, took up arms against the author of their grievances. The Count de Dunois, who had so eminently contributed to the expulsion of the English from France, grown grey under the late king, and universally revered, appeared in the field at the head of his vassals. The Count de St. Pol, and the duke of Nemours, were joined by Dammartin, who had escaped from his imprisonment. The duke of Bretagne prepared to enter France with an army: the duke of Berri, dreading his brother's resentment, fled to that prince for an asylum: while the Count de Charolois, heir to the vast Burgundian succession, and the most formidable from his personal qualities of all the members of the coalition; at the head of a considerable body of forces, directed his march straight to the capital.

In this alarming concurrence of circumstances, the genius of Louis, active, penetrating, and peculiarly calculated to extricate him from difficulties, eminently appeared.

On

On the first news of the existence of the conspiracy, he fell immediately on the weakest leaders, and reduced them to implore his clemency. The apprehension that his enemies might take possession of Paris during his absence, obliged him reluctantly to extend his pardon to them; and he was on his way to secure that important city, when the confederate army meeting him at Monthery, an action unavoidably ensued. It was not decisive on either side; but the king, anxious to preserve the metropolis, and distrustful of the attachment of its citizens, first decamped and re-entered Paris. Compelled by the necessity of his affairs, he bent with the utmost pliability of address, adopted manners the most engaging and popular, courted the wives of the mechanics, promised a repeal of every burdensome or extraordinary impost, and extended several acts of grace in order to retain the inhabitants in allegiance.

1465.

July.

Meanwhile the army of the duke of Bretagne having joined the Count de Charolois, formed a prodigious assemblage of troops: they assumed the title of the "League for the public good;" and directing their course


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towards

1465. towards the capital, encamped in the surrounding villages. After vainly attempting however, to gain possession of Paris by blockade, or famine, or intrigue, and no insurrection taking place among the inhabitants, terms of accommodation were proposed by the coalesced princes and nobles. Louis, who knew that this powerful combination could only be successfully reduced, by effecting its disunion, complied with all their demands ; being firmly resolved at the same time, only to adhere to the treaty so long as he should be compelled to it by force, or necessity. He yielded therefore, tho' with great reluctance, the duchy of Normandy to Charles his brother, instead of the province of Berri, which he had before possessed : invested the Count de St. Pol with the sword of Constable of France ; restored the towns upon the river Somme, which constituted the keys of the kingdom on the side of Picardy, to the Count de Charolois ; and replaced the other chiefs of the confederacy in the possession of all their lands, dignities, and offices. The league being thus dissolved, each member of it returned into his own respective dominions or castles ; while the insidious king,  
only

only waiting for the favourable moment to at- 1465.  
tack them, held himself in readiness to im-  
prove it to the utmost, as soon as it should  
take place.

The insurrections of the Flemings against 1466.  
the government of the house of Burgundy,  
and the discontents of the Normans at the  
administration of their new duke, who suf-  
fered himself to be conducted by weak coun-  
sellors, speedily afforded Louis that oppor-  
tunity which he so anxiously desired. Vigor-  
ous and rapid in his movements when the oc-  
casion demanded it, he first compelled the  
duke of Bretagne to abandon Charles his bro-  
ther; and then depriving the defenceless  
prince of his newly-ceded duchy, forced him  
to fly as a miserable refugee to Francis his  
ally for shelter. The duke of Burgundy,  
broken with years and infirmities, could ex-  
tend no protection to his friends in person;  
and his son, the Count de Charolois, who would  
readily have advanced to their assistance,  
was occupied in reducing the rebellious in-  
habitants of Liège to subjection. Thus situated,  
they endeavoured to engage the king of Eng-  
land in their quarrel; and to open anew a  
road

1466.  road to those dangerous foreign enemies, by which they might once more penetrate into the heart of France, as they had done under so many preceding sovereigns of the house of Valois. The occasion, it must be owned, was favorable, and the throne of England was again occupied by a martial prince. Henry the sixth had been deposed: but his successor, Edward the fourth, was as yet not sufficiently confirmed in the throne, to undertake, like Henry the fifth, a foreign war. Louis, on the other hand, victorious over so many enemies, and rendered stronger by their unsuccessful opposition, grew more tyrannical in his conduct, and more oppressive in his government.

1467. *Jan.* At this time died Philip, duke of Burgundy, at the city of Bruges, in a very advanced age. His justice, beneficence, and paternal attention to his people, obtained him the surname of “the Good;” while the splendid munificence of his temper acquired their love. Superadded to these amiable qualifications, the extent of territory which he possessed, extending from the northern limits of Holland, to the frontiers of Switzerland; and  
com-



comprehending some of the fairest, as well as 1467.  
most industrious, and commercial provinces  
of Europe; ranked him among the greatest  
and most powerful princes of his time.  
Charles, Count de Charclois, his son, suc-  
ceeded him in his vast possessions. Violent  
and impetuous in his manners, bold even to  
rashness, inflexible in the prosecution of what-  
ever designs he had once adopted, aiming at  
royalty, and exhausting his revenues, as well  
as his forces, in vain attempts to extend his  
dominions, he was at last over-reached in policy  
by the king of France. Unequal to the exe-  
cution of the projects which he had conceived,  
Charles destroyed the fabric which his three  
predecessors had erected, and finally expired  
the victim of his immoderate, and ill-regulated  
ambition.

Tho' Louis, from his prompt and imme-  
diate seizure of the occasion to attack the  
dukes of Bretagne and Berri, in the absence  
of their powerful ally, had gained an ascen-  
dancy, yet this advantage was only tempo-  
rary. Charles, now become duke of Bur-  
gundy, his inveterate enemy, was returned  
victorious from Flanders, and had revived the  
oppo-

1467. opposition of his two allies, by leading a powerful army to their assistance.

1468. The king, naturally wary and cautious, trusting no event to fortune which wisdom or subtlety might regulate, and like Philip of Macedon, not believing any fortress impregnable, where a mule laden with silver could enter; attacked the duke of Burgundy first with gold, and purchased a truce, at the price of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns. As this expedient could however procure only a precarious suspension of hostilities; and as he was desirous, if possible, of detaching the duke altogether from his political connexions with his own enemies, the dukes of Berry and Bretagne; the king determined on a personal interview for that purpose. Relying on his powers of persuasion, and becoming the dupe of his own vanity on this occasion, Louis named Peronne in Picardy, a town belonging to the duke of Burgundy, for the place of their meeting. Desirous at the same time to give the duke an incontestible proof of perfect confidence in his honor, Louis repaired thither without any guards, only attended by two or three noblemen of his court.

court. Charles, after receiving him with <sup>1468.</sup>  
every mark of distinction, lodged him in the town of Peronne: but, several Burgundian and other foreign persons of rank arriving, who were the king's avowed enemies, Louis began to entertain some apprehensions respecting his safety, and requested the duke to assign him apartments in the castle of Peronne, as being more secure from insult or injury. By this step, still more imprudent than the first, he rendered himself absolutely a prisoner.

Previous to the projected interview, the king, whose policy impelled him to keep the duke of Burgundy constantly employed in domestic wars, had dispatched agents privately to Liège, in order to induce the inhabitants of that city to resume their arms, by a promise of his protection. Not expecting the consequence of this message to be instantaneous, he felt no repugnance at trusting himself in the duke's power: but the people, impetuous and violent, no sooner received the intimation from Louis's emissaries, than they broke out into open rebellion, massacred their governors, and committed a thousand excesses.

1468. cesses. When this intelligence reached Charles, he became furious with resentment. Perfectly conscious at whose secret instigation the disorder had been commenced, he denounced vengeance against the perfidious monarch, ordered the castle gates to be immediately closed, and even debated whether he should not put the king to instant death.

Louis, naturally timid and irresolute, in the hands of his mortal enemy whom he had deeply offended, surrounded with people who either dreaded, or detested him, and shut up in a chamber, at the foot of that very tower where Hebert, Count de Vermandois, had formerly caused Charles the Simple, king of France, to be murdered; underwent by anticipation all the horrors of death. The duke of Burgundy detained him three days in this painful suspense; during which time, the king, whose subtlety and presence of mind never forsook him in so dangerous a crisis, found means to engage in his interests, some of the duke's attendants. In consequence of their expostulations or exertions, he was at length released, but, only under the most ignominious and humiliating conditions. Charles  
obliged

obliged the king to accompany him with three hundred men at arms, to the siege of Liège, which city he took by storm; punished with extreme severity their disobedience; and then dismissing his sovereign lord, whom he had compelled to be a witness of all these transactions, scarcely deigned to accompany him half a league on his way, and quitted him with a haughty civility. 1468.

There is no incident of Louis the eleventh's reign so inexplicable, and no action of his life, so apparently contradictory to the whole tenor of his general character, as his conduct in relation to this celebrated interview. His sagacity, and his cautious temper bordering on fear, seem equally to have forsaken him, when he thus put himself into the power of his rival. And we behold with astonishment, the most crafty and politic prince of his age, suffering himself to be over-reached by one who was the least endowed with those qualities\*.

Among

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\* The celebrated Philip de Comines, who was a chamberlain to Charles the Bold, and lay in the duke's own apartment during the whole time of Louis the eleventh's detention in the castle of Peronne; has given

1469      Among the conditions to which the king  
     <sup>to</sup>  
 1471.      was reduced to submit while a prisoner at  
 ~~~~~ Peronne,

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given us the most minute relation of the principal circumstances attending this extraordinary event, one of the most curious in French history. He was witness to every variation of passion, and every change of sentiment, which successively actuated the duke of Burgundy. There can, indeed, be very little doubt that Comines was active in his exertions to extricate the king ; and as little question, that Louis was not deficient in rewarding his services on that most critical occasion. Comines does not however, assert, that Charles had it ever in contemplation to put his royal prisoner to death ; tho' he insinuates, that if the persons with whom the duke of Burgundy consulted, had been disposed to inflame and irritate his resentment against the king, some fatal step might have been taken : " et, " pour le moins," adds Comines, " le roi eut été mis " en cette grosse tour"—alluding to the tower where Charles the Simple was confined from the year 922, till his death in 926.—" Nous n'aigrismes rien, mais " adoucismes a notre pouvoir," says Comines. Louis the eleventh could not too highly repay such a piece of service. It is evident that Charles was uncertain how to act, and underwent alternately every agitation of mind, natural to such a state of painful irresolution. He kept the king confined three days, without deigning to see him. The gates of the castle were shut and guarded, all that time. During the first day, all was  
 terror

Peronne, he had promised to cede the provinces of Champagne and Brie to Charles his brother. 1469  
to  
1471.

terror and fright throughout the city of Peronne. On the second day, the duke growing more calm; held a council, in order to determine on the conduct that he should observe towards his prisoner, which lasted the greater part of the day, and a considerable part of the night. Various were the opinions there delivered. The king, during this perilous juncture, was not wanting to himself. He promised to reward all those who would aid him, and actually distributed the greater part of fifteen thousand crowns, among the duke's attendants.

On the third night, Charles was in perpetual agitation: he neither undressed himself, nor slept; but, lay down from time to time on the bed, and walked continually up and down his apartment, with Comines. In the morning he resumed all his former indignation, threatening to proceed to an immediate extremity against the king: but, afterwards becoming more tractable, he determined to liberate his captive, on receiving Louis's solemn promise to accompany him without delay, to reduce the revolted inhabitants of Liège. Charles went in person to carry this determination to the king, which he delivered in manner and terms the most haughty. Louis wisely submitted to every condition demanded; in order to obtain his release. The agreement was instantly made; and the two princes swore to adhere to it faithfully, upon a crucifix which Louis carried with him, and which was regarded as peculiarly sacred.

1469 brother. But, this important article not  
 to  
 1471. having been carried into execution; and as the  
 ~~~~~ proximity of those provinces to the Burgundian  
 dominions, would have infallibly secured the  
 alliance between the two dukes on immovable  
 foundations; Louis no sooner effected his re-  
 lease, than he exerted all his abilities and ad-  
 dress, to prevail on his brother to accept the  
 province of Guyenne in exchange. The  
 prince, credulous, and yielding to the affected  
 demonstrations of kindness shewn him by the  
 king, complied with the proposal. But, con-  
 vinced when it was too late, of the error that  
 he had committed; and allured by the hopes  
 of a marriage with Mary of Burgundy,  
 Charles's only daughter, the presumptive  
 heiress of his vast possessions; he began to  
 renew his confederacy with that prince, and  
 to raise troops.—His death, which happened

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sacred, having been worn by Charlemagne. Charles, after having compelled the king to be witness to his capture and punishment of Liège, at length, on Louis's urgent and repeated request, permitted him to return into his own dominions, humbled and degraded to the lowest degree. These particulars, here enumerated, which are all derived from Comines, may be regarded as of the most unquestionable authenticity.



at this time, and which was marked with every appearance of poison; the evident interest which Louis had to perpetrate so atrocious a crime; superadded to the personal hatred that he bore the duke his brother: all these circumstances conspired to render him justly and universally suspected of the fact\*.


1472.

May.

Guyenne

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\* Charles, duke of Berri, appears to have been an amiable prince, but of slender capacity. Alternately the slave of superstition and of love, he was governed by his confessor or his mistress, according to his predominant passion: The latter prevailed; and the lady of Montsoreau triumphed over the Abbot of St. John d'Angeli. His name was Favre Vesois, of the order of St. Benedict. Jealous of this pre-eminence, and bent on revenge, the monk caused a peach to be poisoned, which he presented to the lady while sitting at supper with the duke and himself. She divided it with a knife, and giving half to her lover, ate the rest herself: the consequence was immediately fatal to her, and she expired in great agonies. The duke, from the strength of his constitution, resisted the poison during some time: tho' he lost his hair and nails, which came off, yet he lingered near six months; and then died at Bourdeaux. The abbot fled; but being seized and carried into Bretagne, by order of Francis the second, the then reigning duke, he was conducted to Nantes. It was intended to bring him to a public trial, in the

1472.  Guyenne was immediately seized on by the king, and re-united to the crown.

The

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hope and expectation of his accusing Louis the eleventh, as his accomplice or abettor. But, on the morning appointed to conduct him before the judges, he was found dead in his cell, strangled, and lying on the floor. As, by this catastrophe, a veil was drawn before the whole affair, it was commonly believed that the king had not hesitated to conceal the first crime, by the perpetration of a second.

Du Clos, in his "History of the reign of Louis the eleventh," has examined with great accuracy, the nature and circumstances of the duke of Guyenne's death. He seems to make no question of its having been effected by poison; but, after every inquiry into the authors of this crime, he leaves them mysterious and uncertain. Tho' he names Louis himself, he does it without any strong, or well-founded suspicion, of his guilt or participation. It would even seem, by Du Clos' enumeration of the circumstances which attended the duke's illness, that the poison was not intended for him; as it was neither foreseen nor apprehended that he would taste of the peach given to Collette de Jambes, lady of Montsoreau, his mistress.—There is frequently an ambiguity about the deaths of distinguished personages, which must unavoidably give rise to much historical scepticism.—Louis the eleventh, from an affectation of discovering and revenging his brother's death, procured the documents tending to trace its authors,

to

The news of this atrocious and unexpected event no sooner reached the duke of Burgundy, than all his indignation and resentment revived. He entered Picardy with an army, determined to revenge his unhappy ally, to whose memory he cruelly sacrificed every inhabitant who fell into his power. But, having failed in an attempt upon the city of Beauvais, and exhausting his forces by the efforts of an impotent frenzy, rather than the rational exertions of a manly vengeance, he was soon under the necessity of accepting a truce which Louis offered him. This latter prince, uniform as well as systematic in his movements, and always attaining his ends by those means which

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to be brought to him, and appointed commissioners to enter upon their examination: but, the tribunal came to no decision: and the members composing it, were rewarded by the king. Such a conduct only added weight to the suspicions already universally entertained. —Voltaire, who usually rejects and ridicules the imputations of poison, admits the unquestionable certainty of this particular crime. He even inclines highly to suspect and accuse Louis the eleventh as its author: “Lui,” says he, “qui etant Dauphin, avoit fait  
“ craindre un parricide a Charles VII son pere.”


1472. seemed most remote from their object, confirmed every year his despotism, while he added some new acquisition to the royal authority. Nearly at the same time he seized on the territories of the Count d'Armagnac, one of the great feudal vassals of the crown; committed the duke of Alençon, a prince of the blood, to prison; and retained by terror the duke of Bretagne in subjection.

1473. While Louis thus solidly increased his power, the duke of Burgundy, who was intoxicated by a fatal passion for extending his dominions, began that train of errors and misconduct which speedily terminated in his fall. Instead of watching with circumspection the minutest actions of his perfidious and powerful neighbour, as he was bound to do by every motive of prudence, or of policy;

1474. he wantonly engaged in a quarrel with the whole Germanic body, by laying siege to the town of Nuiz on the Rhine, under pretexts the most insufficient; and even persisted in prosecuting the attempt, to the destruction of his whole army.

1475. In the mean time Edward the fourth, having vanquished all the partizans of the house

house of Lancaster, and established himself <sup>1475.</sup>  
 firmly in the throne, began to turn his view  
 to the recovery of those possessions, to which  
 every king of England since Edward the  
 third, had laid claim. Endowed with talents for  
 war, successful in every battle where he had  
 personally commanded, and still in the full  
 vigor of his age, he seemed capable of re-  
 newing the laurels won by Henry the fifth at  
 Azincourt. Invited by the pressing and re-  
 peated importunities of the duke of Bur-  
 gundy, Edward landed with an army at Ca-  
 lais; a place which still afforded an easy en-  
 trance into the kingdom: but his ally, en-  
 gaged in the siege of Nuiz, and pertinaciously  
 adhering to his design, after detaining the king  
 some time, appeared unattended and alone,  
 instead of bringing with him, according to his  
 promise, a powerful body of troops. Edward,  
 nevertheless, advanced into Picardy, in the  
 expectation that the Count de St. Pol, Con-  
 stable of France, would, as he had promised,  
 deliver into their hands the important town  
 of St. Quintin: but St. Pol, by a double piece  
 of treachery, which eventually proved his de-

1475. struction, deceived his allies, and gave Louis time to avert the danger.

The subtle king, in this perilous conjuncture, had recourse to artifice and negotiation, his usual engines: he knew by experience, that the decision of arms was ever uncertain; the mode of intrigue and corruption, less hazardous. Edward, voluptuous and indolent, lent a ready ear to these proposals; an accommodation was soon managed, and a peace between them was signed at Amiens, notwithstanding the duke of Burgundy's opposition. The two monarchs in consequence

August. agreed on an interview, to be held at the bridge of Pecquigni, near that city. A grated barrier was erected on the middle, for mutual security, and two boxes were constructed for the purpose. Louis, whose pliant genius accommodated itself to every situation of politics, and who thought no submissions too mean for the attainment of his views; flattered the English prince, invited him, with all the apparent cordiality of friendship, to his capital, and at the same time secured by presents, the principal nobility of England in his interests.

This

This powerful combination being thus dissolved, which, if conducted by ability, might have overturned the throne of Louis, and renewed all the calamities of the most unfortunate periods of the French monarchy, Edward returned to England. The duke of Burgundy, who had lost the most favorable occasion of humbling his rival, compelled by necessity and weakness, accepted a suspension of arms. While the Count de St. Pol, whose perfidy had rendered him obnoxious to every party, was delivered up by Charles into the king's hands, who after a hasty trial caused him to be condemned for treason, and instantly Dec. 19. beheaded\*.

### Untaught

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\* Louis de Luxembourg, Count de St. Pol, and Constable of France, certainly merited the fate which overtook him, by his repeated acts of perfidy and ingratitude. On the day appointed for his death, he was brought from the Bastile, to the hall of the chamber of criminals, where the commissioners, before whom he had been arraigned, and tried, were assembled. The Chancellor rising up, addressed him in these words :—  
 “ Monsieur de St. Pol, you have always been esteemed  
 “ one of the bravest and most undaunted lords of the  
 “ kingdom, and must not forfeit that character to-day,  
 “ when

1476. Untaught by the bad success which had attended all his ill-concerted plans of ambition,

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“when you will stand in need of all your courage and “firmness.”—The Chancellor next demanded from him the collar of the king’s order of knighthood, and the sword of Constable. St. Pol surrendered the former instantly, after kissing it; the latter, he said, had been taken from him when he was arrested.—The decree was then publicly read, which sentenced him to be beheaded. The Constable having heard it, only said, “God be praised! it is a pretty severe sentence. I pray God not to withdraw his presence from me this “day.”—When led out to execution, he displayed the highest composure, equanimity, and courage. Mass was said to him; he was made to kiss the consecrated vessels, and received the Viaticum. After having continued for some minutes in prayer upon the scaffold, he rose up, adjusted with his foot the cushion prepared for him to kneel on, ordered his eyes to be covered, and laid down his head. It was severed from his body at one stroke: the executioner then plunged it into a pail of water, to wash away the blood, and afterwards held it up to the view of the people. His head and body were soon afterwards put into a coffin; and interred the same evening.

Four friars were appointed to attend him in his dying moments. To them he gave sixty crowns of gold, to dispose of in charitable donations; a ring to place upon the finger of the holy Virgin Mary; and a stone which  
he



tion, the duke of Burgundy persisted in their prosecution. He not only engaged in a dispute with the Swiss cantons, but refused to hearken to the humble and repeated applications, which they made to him for peace. These virtuous

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he usually wore about his neck, as a preservative from poison, which last he requested might be sent to his son. Louis permitted the money and the ring to be appropriated to the ends for which the Count had destined them; but he retained the stone, on account of its supposed virtues.

The Constable de St. Pol was seized at Mons in Haynault, by order of the duke of Burgundy; and after being detain'd for some time as his prisoner, was delivered up to the commissioners sent to receive him on the part of Louis the eleventh, at the gate of the city of Peronne. The Chancellor of Burgundy, and the Seigneur d'Imbercourt, who were his inveterate enemies, performed their sovereign's orders for his delivery, with an officious and cruel haste. He was instantly conducted to Paris. Comines says, that he had been informed, messengers arrived from the duke of Burgundy, only three hours after the Constable had been given up, countermanding the orders under which his officers had acted; but, they came too late. Comines, tho' he confesses the perfidy, and many state crimes of the Count de St. Pol, yet severely arraigns the conduct of Charles the Bold, which he imputes to avarice and rapacity.

and

1476. and hardy people, who had originally purchased their freedom by the boldest opposition to Austrian tyranny, and who cherished among their lakes and mountains, the warmest attachment to it, resisted his invasion with determined courage. After having defeated him in two engagements, at Granson and at Morat, they finally obliged him to renounce his enterprize with disgrace.

1477. Still bent on conquests, and driven almost to madness by his repeated defeats, Charles laid siege to Nancy in Lorraine, tho' with only three thousand men, and amidst the rigors of winter. While he was engaged in this enterprize, René, duke of Lorraine, attacked him with a superior force. At the first shock, the Count de Campobasso, a Neapolitan, on whom the duke of Burgundy had conferred many favors, basely withdrew, carrying off four hundred horse which he commanded. At the same time, by an act of almost unparalleled ingratitude and treason, he stationed twelve or fifteen men about the duke's person, with a strict command to assassinate him in his flight. They executed the detestable commission too faithfully, and the unhappy duke

was

5th January.

was found dead, pierced with three wounds. 1477. —The motive which influenced Campobasso to commit so foul a crime, remains uncertain. It is said that Charles had once given him a blow, and that revenge stimulated him to the act; but history has not clearly elucidated this point\*.

Thus

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\* Campobasso had been banished from Naples, on account of his adherence to the faction of Anjou in that kingdom. From whatever source his hatred to the duke of Burgundy originated, he carried it to the greatest height, since he certainly offered Louis the eleventh repeatedly, to deliver up to him his master, alive or dead. The king, how little scrupulous soever he was to circumvent his enemies, abhorred so black a treachery; and, as is asserted, sent Charles intimation of the design: but, the infamous opinion which the duke entertained of the person from whom this information came, induced him to neglect and despise it. “If,” said he, “it were true, the king would never have imparted to me so important a secret.” He even redoubled his marks of confidence and attachment to the perfidious Neapolitan.

The ill success of the duke of Burgundy, was in a great measure owing to the disparity of numbers. He himself fought with the most heroic courage, and exposed his person wherever the danger was most imminent or conspicuous. When the rout became general, he

1477. Thus fell the last male of the great house  
 of Burgundy; the most powerful family which  
 Europe

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he was borne away in the flight. 'Tho' the generality of the French authors assert that he was killed by the emissaries of Campobasso, expressly stationed for that purpose, yet this fact is not absolutely certain. Du Clos says, that the duke was closely pursued by Claude Blomont, Senechal of St. Die, to whom he repeatedly cried out for quarter; but Blomont being deaf, and not knowing what he said, unhorsed him with his lance. In this condition, oppressed with wounds, with fatigue, and the weight of his armour, Charles was not able to recover himself, and was trampled to death in the croud.

Comines, who in many parts of his incomparable *Memoirs*, is as diffuse as curiosity can desire, is very concise in his mention of the duke's death, and the circumstances attending it. He however, imputes it to Campobasso and the persons placed by him, to the number of twelve or thirteen, near the duke's person; of which men, Comines says, he personally knew two or three. He adds, that the inhabitants of Nancy were well acquainted with the treacherous intentions of Campobasso towards his lord; and that their expectations of his destroying Charles, supported their nearly exhausted courage. To such a degree did this opinion operate, that had not the besieged fully relied on the completion of Campobasso's assurances, they would have infallibly surrendered the city.—This traitor went over, with about one hundred and sixty men at arms, to  
 René,

Europe has ever seen, that did not attain to the rank of kings. It may, indeed, be reasonably  
1477.

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René, duke of Lorrain, who was at the head of the forces arrived to raise the siege. But, the Germans, with a generous indignation and resentment of his treachery, absolutely refused to permit him to mix with their bands; commanding him instantly to retire, as they would not allow traitors to stay in their camp. He accordingly repaired to a neighbouring pass and castle called Condé, where he waited to fall upon the soldiers of the Burgundian army; fortifying and blocking the defile which he occupied, with carts, to prevent their escaping by flight.

The duke's body, tho' carefully sought after, could not be discovered for two days after the action, till Campobasso sent an Italian page, who pointed out the spot where he fell, which was at some distance from the field of battle. The duke was entirely naked, lying on his belly, his face close to a piece of ice in the marsh where he had expired, and which was so hard frozen, that they were obliged to dig it out with pick-axes. He was wounded in three places: one wound was made by a halberd, which had split his jaw; the two others, by a pike; the first of them having pierced both his thighs from side to side, and the last having entered a little higher. The duke of Lorrain caused him to be transported to Nancy, and laid on a bed of state, in an apartment hung with black velvet. He afterwards paid Charles the customary funeral honours,  
which

1477. sonably doubted, whether even after the expulsion of the English from France, the dukes of

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which were of a most singular nature.—René wore on that occasion, a golden beard reaching to his middle. Previous to his scattering holy water on the corpse, he advanced up to the deceased prince, and taking him by the hand, addressed him in these words—"God rest thy soul; thou hast given us much trouble and grief!"

Charles's errors and vices seem to have been more pernicious to himself, than injurious to others. He possessed many sublime and shining qualities; among which, his undaunted intrepidity, liberality, application, and magnificence, were peculiarly eminent. He was of a middle stature, of a vigorous frame of body, and capable of enduring great fatigue. The lineaments of his countenance were harsh and displeasing; the features of his face appearing to indicate the fierceness of his natural disposition.—These circumstances of the duke's character and death, are chiefly borrowed from Comines and Du Clos.

The "*Chronique scandaleuse*," written by John de Troyes, agrees with the last-mentioned historian in almost every particular, and adds some others not less curious.—"Charles's body," says he, "was distinguished from the others that lay near it in the same state of nakedness, by six marks, which infallibly ascertained his identity. The first was, his want of his upper teeth, which had been beaten out by a fall;

of Burgundy were not as important princes 1477.  
 in the scale of Europe, as the kings of France them-

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“ fall : the second was a scar on his throat, occasioned  
 “ by a wound that he received at the battle of Mont-  
 “ Ilery : the third, his great nails, which he always  
 “ wore longer than any of his courtiers ; fourthly, ano-  
 “ ther scar on his left shoulder : the fifth was, a fistula  
 “ on his right groin ; and lastly, a nail of his foot that  
 “ grew into his little toe.—His physician, chaplain,  
 “ and gentlemen of his bed-chamber, recognized their  
 “ lord by these marks.”

A long time notwithstanding elapsed, before the duke of Burgundy's death was universally believed among his own subjects. Reports were circulated, and eagerly received by the credulous multitude, that he was gone to Jerusalem, or had retired to pass the remainder of his days in solitude and penitence. To so extravagant a length were these apprehensions carried, that great sums of money were borrowed and lent, on the condition of re-payment when the duke should return. The states of Burgundy which were assembled at Dijon, when they were required to acknowledge Louis the eleventh as their lawful sovereign, complied ; but with this express exception or reservation, that the king should evacuate the duchy, in case Charles, their rightful prince, re-appeared. A strong proof how much that event was considered as possible, and even probable by them!—Many similar examples of the difficulty with which the multitude are induced to believe the deaths of those whom

VOL. I. K they

1477. themselves. It must be remembered, that at the accession of Louis the eleventh, neither Bretagne, Provence, Franche-Comté, Lorraine, Burgundy, nor even the whole of Picardy, were included in the French monarchy : not to mention besides, that the province of Berri constituted the personal establishment, as a fief, of the duke of Berri, Louis's brother. After these numerous defalcations, France, tho' larger in point of extent, can hardly be esteemed as containing more resources, or as producing a greater revenue to its sovereign, than Charles possessed ; who reigned uninterruptedly from within a few leagues of Lyons south, nearly to the gates of Embden, and to the frontiers of Westphalia north. It required all the rashness and violence of cha-

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love, they are to be found in all histories. The inhabitants of Rouen, who saw, or believed they saw, the execution of the famous Maid of Orleans, which was performed in the most solemn and public manner ; yet doubted of her death, and continued long to expect her re-appearance. In the same manner, Sebastian, king of Portugal, who was supposed to have fallen at the battle of Alzira in Morocco, was ardently and confidently looked for by his subjects, during near half a century subsequent to his asserted death.

racter



racter which distinguished this misguided prince, to pull down a fabric so vast, as well as so strongly cemented. The Burgundian dynasty had already lasted near a hundred and twenty years, under four successive princes, when it expired in the person of Charles the Bold. 1477.

Mary, his only daughter, who had not yet attained her twentieth year, was unable to maintain her title to the ample possessions which devolved to her. The imprudence and misfortunes of her father had left the state exhausted, the treasury empty, a council dismayed and feeble, an army almost exterminated. In this distressed situation she implored the protection of Louis; she submitted herself and her dominions to his pleasure; she even urgently requested, that by her marriage with a prince of the royal family of France, her territories might be re-united to the French crown in all their branches. The conduct of the king towards the young princess on this occasion, was equally destitute of magnanimity, as it was of true policy, or of regard to the interests of the state. To the former sentiment he was ever a stranger; but  
K 2 nothing,

1477. nothing, except his unrelenting detestation of the house of Burgundy, and that eccentric path in which he delighted to tread, could have induced him to prefer the hostile seizure of a part of her dominions, to the tranquil and undisputed possession of the whole succession. Such was however the alternative which he chose. His army immediately rendered themselves masters of Burgundy, almost without opposition\*.

The

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\* Comines circumstantially relates the particulars of the arrival of the intelligence of the defeat of Charles before Nancy. The king was at the castle of Plessis les Tours, his usual and favorite residence: he was in hourly and anxious expectation of accounts from Lorrain, and had promised a considerable recompense to the person, who should be the first to bring him any intelligence respecting the duke of Burgundy. Monseigneur de Lude, who slept without the castle of Plessis, stopt the messenger who came with the express from the Seigneur de Craon; and the man not daring to refuse to deliver up his letters to a nobleman of his high rank, Mons. de Lude came before day-light to the wicket, and knocked, demanding entrance. He then presented the dispatches: they only contained the account of the duke's defeat and flight; stating that it was uncertain whether he had escaped or not, after the action.—The joy

The young and unprotected duchess, whose condition, so justly the object of compassion, could not soften the malignant heart of Louis ; was necessitated, after a number of delays and great irresolution, to accept the hand of the arch-duke Maximilian of Austria, son to the emperor of Germany, Frederic the third ; a prince who was by no means capable of recovering her dismembered territories from so powerful an antagonist. The king of England was bound by every principle of policy, as well as wisdom, to assist and support her in the declining state of her fortune : but Louis, subtle and provident, had anticipated and precluded this channel of succour, by a promise of marrying his son, the Dauphin Charles, to Ed-

1477.



August.

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joy of Louis was immoderate and unconcealed, upon this event, of which he gave the most public demonstrations, to all his courtiers and attendants. He ordered it to be read to all his officers, shewing them the letters. Immediately afterwards he heard mass, and then commanding dinner to be served in his apartment, entertained them publicly, conversing on the news just received. He even went so far, as immediately to give away the domain of the duke of Burgundy, and to distribute various lands of that prince, to those about him.


1477. ward's eldest daughter; tho', as afterwards appeared, without any fixed intention of fulfilling the engagement. After some feeble and ineffectual efforts, therefore, on the part of Maximilian, all the duchy of Burgundy, together with the province of Artois, were conquered and united to France.

1478. As Louis the eleventh advanced in years, the vices of his nature and disposition growing inveterate, obtained the fullest ascendancy over him. The despotism which he had established, leaving no barrier to his authority, unveiled, while it gave full scope, to that implacable cruelty, which characterized him thro' every stage of his life\*. Having nourished

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\* The use of iron cages, introduced and rendered familiar under Louis the eleventh, in which he used to detain prisoners of state, who were chained with enormous fetters, impresses with horror. The Count du Perche, a nobleman of the highest rank, son to the duke of Alençon, and himself a prince of the blood, was confined in one of these engines for three months, tho' not guilty of the crime imputed to him, and only received his allowance of food thro' the grate. The Cardinal de la Balue remained for many years in a cage, in the castle of Loches, in Touraine. It was customary with  
Louis

ished an unceasing desire of vengeance against the duke of Nemours, ever since the period of the "League of the Public Good," he was now determined to gratify it. That unfortunate nobleman dreading his sovereign's resentment, had retired to the fortress of Carlat, among the mountains of Auvergne. Louis dispatched Peter of Bourbon, Seigneur de Beaujeu, whom he had married to his daughter the princess Anne, with orders to besiege him in Carlat: but the peculiar and almost inaccessible situation of the castle, rendering it very difficult to gain possession by force, the duke of Nemours received the most solemn assurances of safety, if he would surrender himself. Reposing on the honor of his enemy, he complied: but the king, who sported with all the ties of good faith, which he ought to have esteemed so sacred, caused the duke, in violation of his compact, to be carried prisoner to the Bastile. Louis then

1478. 

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Louis to place himself behind a screen, while criminals were examined and put to the torture. Gibbets were usually erected round the castles where he resided, and these marks of cruelty distinguished his abode.

1478. compelled, tho' with difficulty, the reluctant judges to condemn him, and ordered him to be beheaded. Nor did his revenge stop there; but, by a refinement in cruelty, scarcely to be exceeded in the history of the worst periods of ancient Rome, by the most flagitious of the Cæsars; he commanded the two sons of the duke, as yet in early childhood, and of consequence incapable of any participation in the asserted treason, to be placed directly under the scaffold, and covered with the blood of their unfortunate father, which descended on their heads\*.

These

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\* James d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, was one of the first noblemen in the kingdom, and a great feudal vassal of the crown. He had received numerous and distinguishing marks of Louis's favor, which, it must be confessed, he had repaid with great ingratitude. The king had even repeatedly pardoned his crimes and treasons.—During the siege of Carlat, the duchess of Nemours, his wife, who lay-in at the time, died of terror and distress. He himself was conducted to the Bastile, and shut up, as was then common with criminals of state, in a cage. The king being informed that on his trial, the judges had permitted him to come out of his cage, during the time that he was interrogated; highly blamed their lenity, remanded him back into

These are recitals at which history recoils, 1479  
 and humanity shudders: but, how can we &  
 oppose the universal testimony of the French 1480.   
 historians, and even of Comines himself, who  
 assure us, that during his reign, Louis put to  
 death more than four thousand persons, by va-  
 rious species of torture, without even the form  
 of a trial; and that he usually was present  
 himself at their executions, in the inspection of  
 which, he expressed a barbarous gratification!  
 Scarcely do the excesses of Caligula surpass  
 those of Louis in number, or in atrocity. It  
 inspires some satisfaction to reflect that we  
 draw towards the termination of this san-  
 guinary reign.

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into it, ordered him to be put to the rack, and even  
 prescribed, himself, the exact form of his examination.  
 The execution of the duke was performed with unusual  
 solemnity. Having been conducted to the place ap-  
 pointed for it, on a horse covered with black, he was  
 afterwards confessed, previous to his death, in a cham-  
 ber hung in the same manner. The head and body,  
 after his decapitation, were delivered to the Cordeliers  
 of Paris, who came to the number of one hundred and  
 forty, to receive it with all possible respect, and in-  
 terred it with funeral honors in their chapel. His con-  
 fiscated estates were all divided among the king's mi-  
 nisters and favorites.

While

1479 & 1480. While every public and private species of prosperity seemed to attend on the king, and no foreign or internal commotion disturbed his schemes of despotism and aggrandizement, the time of his death was rapidly approaching. During his residence at a village near Chinon in Touraine, he was seized with an apoplectic fit, in which he lay for several hours, motionless and speechless: at the end of that time, his voice and intellects returned, but not the vigorous health which he had previously enjoyed\*. Becoming more distrust-

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\* The king had just risen from table, at the time of his apoplectic seizure. Comines relates every particular of it. Louis had been to hear mass at a little parish church, about a quarter of a league from the village of Forges, near Chinon. He recovered his senses, and even his speech, to a certain degree, as soon as the air was admitted; and was so well re-established, as to get on horseback, and return to Forges the same evening. It was at first apprehended that he could scarcely recover, as he was not able to articulate, and betrayed hardly any marks of retaining his senses. The first proof of his returning faculties which he manifested, was by making a sign to open the windows; but, whether his attendants thought it prejudicial to him, or whether they did not understand his signs, they



distrustful by this symptom of his approaching end, and jealous lest from any supposed personal incapacity to administer the affairs of the kingdom, attempts should be made to infringe his authority, he redoubled his vigilance and circumspection. As the duke of Bourbon appeared to be the only prince of the blood, who possessed qualities which could inspire any jealousy, Louis seized without pretext, or accusation, on all his patrimonial estates; and even endeavoured to invent accusations against the duke, by which he might be ultimately ruined and put to death. 1480.

While the king was engaged in these occupations, dictated by distrust and terror, a se- 1481.


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they kept him near the fire, in a close room. Angelo Catto, his physician, coming into the apartment, caused the windows to be opened. Louis by degrees recovered his intellects and speech, tho' it was a considerable time before he could make those about him perfectly understand what he said.—So jealous was he of his authority, that he informed himself who were the persons that had prevented the windows from being opened, and instantly banished them the court. An opposition to his will, even in the smallest trifle, he ever considered as a heinous offence, and severely punished it.

cond

1481. cond stroke of apoplexy again warned him of his end. In order to avert, or to protract, the impending calamity, he made a pilgrimage across all France, to the Abbey of St. Claude in Franche-Comté; a religious foundation eminent for sanctity. His devotion and his cruelty both seemed to increase: he was attended in this mock pilgrimage, by six thousand men at arms; and left bloody traces of his progress, in almost every place thro' which he passed.

So far from relaxing his accustomed severity, as he approached the termination of life, his temper hardened into a sterner barbarity. His queen, whose patient and enduring attachment, whose mild and silent virtues merited a better treatment, he banished into her native country, Savoy; after having kept her during many years confined in one or other of the royal castles, where he rarely visited her; and in which she resided as a simple individual, without state, and almost without attendants. By his last will, he not only expressly precluded her from any share in the government, but, endeavoured to inspire

spire his son with sentiments of distrust and aversion towards his mother\*. 1481. 

Even his successor, the young Dauphin Charles, he retained as a sort of prisoner in the castle of Amboise, where none were permitted to approach his person, except servants and persons of the meanest condition. No education was bestowed on the future heir to the French monarchy, nor any instructions infused into his early mind, from

\* Charlotte of Savoy, wife to Louis the eleventh, was married to him in 1457, only four years before the death of Charles the seventh ; when she was scarce thirteen years of age, during the residence of the Dauphin in the dominions of the duke of Burgundy. She was a very amiable and virtuous princess, but not distinguished by any extraordinary endowments of person, or of mind. Tho' Louis treated her with external decency, yet he always regarded her as being more attached to the interests of the house of Burgundy, to which she was nearly related, than to those of the crown of France. She was in fact almost a captive during the latter part of his reign ; and she appears to have submitted without the slightest struggle or murmur, to the last will of Louis, by which he nominated his daughter Anne, the lady of Beaujeu, to the regency. The queen died at the castle of Amboise, on the 1st December, 1483, only three months after the king.

the

1481. the king's dread that such information might awaken his dormant qualities, and induce him to make attempts against his father's government.

After such treatment of his wife and son, his conduct towards Louis, duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, tho' it excites abhorrence, cannot produce surprize. He not only carried the duke with him as a captive, wherever he himself moved; but, by one of those abominable strokes of policy, which discriminate Louis the eleventh from almost any other monarch in modern history, he obliged the duke to marry the princess Jane, his youngest daughter, tho' she was personally deformed in a great degree, and had not even received a decent education. She was besides, at the time, only twelve years of age, and the duke only fourteen. This involuntary union was afterwards dissolved by the duke of Orleans, when he ascended the throne\*.

Besides

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\* There are some circumstances so curious and extraordinary, relative to this marriage, as highly to deserve mention. It would seem as if the king was fully convinced that his daughter could bear no children; since,

Besides these instances of domestic ty- 1481.  
ranny, the people groaned under Louis's  
multi-

since, in a letter of his to the Count de Dammartin, still extant, and afterwards produced by Louis the twelfth, on the trial relative to his divorce from Jane; he says, speaking of the future bride and her husband : —“ Qu'ils n'auroient pas beaucoup d'embarras à nourrir  
“ les enfans qui naitroient de leur union ; mais cepen-  
“ dant, elle aura lieu, quelque chose qu'on en puisse  
“ dire.” Malignity, rather than policy, or parental affection, dictated, therefore, the king's determination.

Louis the twelfth pretended that he never consummated the nuptials; but, this assertion, on many accounts, is highly improbable, tho' it was admitted by pope Alexander the sixth, at the subsequent divorce. St. Gelais de Montlieu, in his history, expressly asserts the contrary: these are his words—“ C'est grand mer-  
“ veille de ce qu'on faisoit au duc d'Orleans, et les me-  
“ naces qu'on lui faisoit, s'il ne s'acquittoit de coucher  
“ avec la dite dame Jehanne. On ne le menaçoit de  
“ rien moins que de la vie ; et j'aurois grand honte de  
“ reciter la façon comme on usoient ceux qui étoient  
“ autour, tant hommes que femmes.”—In the course of the proceedings held at Amboise, after Louis the twelfth's accession, on the subject of that king's marriage, the princess Jane, when questioned, asserted in the most express and solemn manner, that the marriage had been consummated. She even mentions the place, time, and circumstances, which are very curious, tho'

very

1481. multiplied oppressions. Numbers of the nobility were carried about by him as wild beasts,

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very indelicate. Being asked by the king's proctor, whether she had not some natural defects unusual in her sex, she answered, "I know that I am neither so handsome, nor so well shaped, as the greater part of my sex; but I have no imperfection that renders me unfit for marriage." When asked afterwards, if she would submit to be inspected by midwives, she replied, "that she would consider of it, and would act agreeably to the rules of the church."—The whole examination was taken in Latin.

Jane however afterwards refused, when pressed by the king, to permit of any inspection, alledging female modesty as an excuse: but she offered to submit her cause to his own sense of honor, and to desist from any farther opposition to the divorce, provided he would assert on oath, that he had never consummated the marriage. Louis shewed some hesitation and reluctance to give this proof of his veracity; but the queen still insisting on it, he complied at length, and expressly denied whatever she had asserted. He likewise produced in his favor, the testimony of his own mother, the duchess dowager of Orleans, who had examined the queen, and found her incapable of having issue. Salmon de Bombelle, physician to Louis the twelfth, was the last person who deposed on this occasion. His evidence is the most satisfactory of any, and seems indisputably to prove the queen's incapacity for bearing children; tho' it does not make it equally clear.

beasts, confined in iron cages: a horrid invention, unknown before this reign, and the frequency of which increased with the progress of his disorder. A third apoplectic stroke, of a similar nature with the two former, seemed to promise his kingdom a speedy termination of its oppressions: but he nevertheless survived for new severities. 1481.

The death of Charles, duke of Anjou, a prince of the blood, and titular king of Naples, at this juncture, without male issue, re-united to the crown the beautiful and maritime province of Provence; by which France received a new, as well as a most important acquisition of territory. Mary of Burgundy did not long survive her father, Charles the Bold. An unfortunate accident carried her off, in Dec: 1482: May.

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clear, that the marriage was never consummated.—Motives of public interest, and the benefit of the state, superadded to the unjustifiable compulsion made use of by Louis the eleventh to effect the alliance, seem however in a great measure, if not altogether, to justify the proceedings of Louis the twelfth in this affair. Henry the eighth could by no means produce as cogent, or as convincing reasons, to authorize the dissolution of his marriage with Catherine of Arragon.

1482. the prime of youth : but that calamity opened the way to a pacification between Louis and the archduke Maximilian. The alliance of Margaret, the infant daughter of Maximilian and Mary, with the Dauphin Charles, formed the cement of this peace\*.

1483. Edward the fourth likewise died nearly  
April. about the same time ; an event highly favorable to the tranquillity of France, as England

\* Comines says, that Mary died of a fever, occasioned by her accident. He does not assert that she was with child ; but only says, that it was so reported. The horse on which she was mounted in hunting, being unruly, threw her ; and she had the misfortune to fall on a piece of wood, which it is said, fractured her thigh. Comines speaks in the highest terms of her character, conjugal fidelity, and amiable qualities of mind. The contemporary authors assert, that her modesty, and delicacy alone made the fall fatal ; since she preferred death to the permitting a surgeon to set her thigh, which was broken.


Her subjects deeply regretted her loss. She had rendered herself universally beloved for her affability, liberality, and faithful attachment to her husband. Lord Rivers, brother to Elizabeth Woodville, Edward the fourth's queen, had been among the number of Mary's suitors ; but he was refused, as being of a rank too much beneath that of the princess.

by



by that event was once more plunged into all those convulsions and civil contests, from which she had hardly begun to recover, after the deposition and death of Henry the sixth. 1483.

The concluding scenes of Louis's life hold up one of the most awful, as well as instructive lessons, which can be submitted to the human mind. He underwent by anticipation all the horrors of a slow and progressive dissolution, aggravated by the remorse of a guilty conscience. Terrified at the near approach of futurity, he exhausted every power of medicine, or devotion, or artifice, to prolong a miserable existence. In order to inspire him with gaiety, the most beautiful country girls were brought to dance round his house ; and bands of men who played on lutes, accompanied them. To intercede with heaven in his behalf, processions were ordered throughout the whole kingdom for his recovery ; and public prayers were offered to avert the " bize," a cold piercing north wind which incommoded him extremely whenever it predominated. A vast collection of relics was brought from the various monasteries of his dominions, to secure him by their influ-

1483.  ence from the stroke of death : while his physician treated him with insult, and extorted from him great sums of money, which the king dared not to refuse, under his present circumstances\*. It has even been pretended, that a bath of infants' blood was prepared for him, in the expectation that it would soften

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\* His physician's name was Jacques Coctier, a native of Poligny in Franche-Comté. Conscious of the ascendancy which he had gained, he tyrannized over Louis himself, frequently addressing him in a manner equally insolent and arrogant.—“ I know,” said he, “ that your majesty will send for me some morning, to put me to death, as you have done others ; but I vow to God you shall not survive it eight days.”—Louis regarding him as the arbiter of his fate, neither dared to reply to him, nor to refuse him any demands which he made, however exorbitant. Coctier's salary amounted to no less than ten thousand crowns a month, and the donations which he received from the king's terrors, almost exceed belief. In the course of eight months, he was paid ninety-eight thousand crowns ; and as the king approached nearer to his end, these marks of his weakness and apprehension were increased. —Under the ensuing reign, Coctier was called on to answer for the sums which he had received ; but he escaped any further inquiry, by the payment of fifty thousand crowns.—These particulars are all enumerated by Comines.

the acrimony of his scorbutic humours ; but 1483.  
this assertion may be ranked among the  
fables of a credulous and superstitious age.

After changing his situation many times, May.  
he finally established his residence at the  
castle of Plessiz-les-Tours, near the city of  
that name, on the banks of the Loire. The  
walls were covered with iron spikes ; while a  
guard of cross-bow men watched night and  
day, as if to secure him from attack. He  
thought that he heard enemies in the passing  
wind. Every thing terrified and alarmed his  
guilty mind. Only one wicket afforded en-  
trance into the castle, and scarcely any one  
approached his person, except the Lady of  
Beaujeu his favorite daughter, and her hus-  
band. Under circumstances which seemed  
to preclude all hopes of his recovery, he ne-  
vertheless endeavored to persuade himself and  
others that he might regain his health. In  
this flattering delusion, he sent to the farthest  
extremity of Italy, in order to seek a Cala-  
brian hermit, eminent for sanctity, named  
Francisco de Paolo. Throwing himself on  
his knees before this monk at his arrival,  
Louis besought with humble supplications, his

1483. interest with the deity, for the prolongation of his life ; constructed two convents for him, as proofs of religious zeal ; and set no bounds to the testimonies of respect, which he lavished on the supposed minister of Heaven\*.

Finding

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\* Comines and Du Clos have given the most minute relation of the king's last illness, and his continual terrors. Even fancy can hardly figure a more terrible and striking picture, than it presents. Four hundred archers kept guard, and forty were constantly watching under arms, with strict orders to fire upon any persons who approached too near the castle. All who entered, underwent a strict search. Louis alternately regarded his own son, as the object of his affection and his suspicion. He daily changed his own domestics ; but, being desirous to conceal his apprehensions, he said that nature took delight in change. To employ continually the attention of foreigners, and in order to convey an idea of his vigorous state of mind, he caused horses, dogs, and all sorts of curious or uncommon animals, to be purchased and brought out of other countries, tho' he did not even look at them when they were arrived. He would frequently shew himself in a balcony, magnificently dressed, and disappear in an instant, that the spectators might not remark the manifest alteration in his countenance and features, caused by his augmenting illness.—He sought from every quarter, for remedies or prayers. In hopes of relief, he caused himself to be re-anointed with the holy oil used

Finding however the hour of his dissolution approach, and unable longer to avert his eyes from the survey of it, he sent for Charles his son from Amboise, and gave him some salutary advice, of a nature altogether opposed to the uniform tenor of his own conduct from the period of his accession. Louis admonished him to cherish the princes of the blood ; to govern by the advice of his nobles ; not to controvert the established laws ; and to diminish the exorbitant imposts with which

1483.

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used at the coronation of the kings of France, which was brought expressly from Rheims for that purpose. The pope dispatched Grimaldi, his steward, with abundance of relics to the king.—On the 25th of August, he had so severe a fainting fit, that he was believed for sometime to be dead, and the intelligence of his supposed decease was sent to Paris. 'Tho' he again recovered, he remained so low and exhausted, that it was evident he could not long survive. Louis seemed to be fully conscious of his approaching end. As the strongest proof of that conviction, he sent the Seigneur de Beaujeu, his son-in-law, to Amboise, to pay his duties to the young king, as Louis then termed him ; and afterwards dispatched the chancellor thither, with the seals, his hounds, hawks, and part of his guard ; commanding all those about him to be faithful to their new master.

1483. he had burdened his subjects. This interview  
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 30th his life; he expired some days afterwards,  
 August. preserving to the last moment the possession  
 of his faculties\*.

Those

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\* When Louis apparently approached his last moments, those who were around his bed, thought it requisite to inform him that he must prepare for death. His confessor more peculiarly apprehended it his duty to bid the king dedicate the short time that he had left, to the care of his salvation: but, as his majesty had often warned them never to pronounce to him the cruel word, death, even tho' they should see him in extremity; they hesitated long before any person would venture to announce to him so unpleasing a sentence.—At length, Olivier Le Daim, one of his chief favorites, took the office on himself; and in presence of Francisco de Paolo, Coctier his physician, and some other persons, said to him, “Sire, it becomes us to discharge our  
 “duty towards you. Place no farther confidence in  
 “this holy man, nor in any thing else. Think only  
 “of your conscience, for all is over with you, and  
 “there is not any remedy left.”—The king betrayed no marks of terror at this denunciation, but answered, “I hope that God will assist me, for perhaps I am not  
 “so ill as you imagine.” He still turned his thoughts on the Dauphin, and the kingdom, giving many directions to guide the ministers of the future sovereign. He advised them not to molest the duke of Bretagne,  
 to

Those who are conversant with the great works of antiquity, will be strikingly reminded, while they peruse the circumstances of Louis's last illness; of the similarity between many features that distinguished it, and those of Tiberius's end, as related by Tacitus. Both appear to be stamped with the same strokes of character.—“*Jam Tiberium corpus,*” says the Roman historian, “*jam* 1483.

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to lay aside all thoughts of regaining Calais from the king of England, and to preserve the tranquillity of the state. He even spoke of the Count de St. Pol, and the duke of Nemours, declaring that he repented only of having put one of them to death, meaning the latter.—Louis then received the sacraments and absolution, repeating the responses to every prayer. He lastly gave orders about his funeral, and named the persons who should attend his corpse to the church of Notre Dame de Clery, near Orleans, where he enjoined that his body should be interred. When in extremity, he continued to repeat, “*Our Lady of Embrun, my good mistress, assist me!—Misericordias Domini in æternum cantabo.*”—He said more than once, that he hoped, from the peculiar devotion which he had always expressed towards the Virgin, that she would preserve him till Saturday. A circumstance much noticed, because it was confirmed by the event! He expired on Saturday, about seven o'clock in the evening, on the 30th of August.

“*vires,*

1483. “vires, nondum dissimulatio deserebat. Idem  
 “animi rigor, sermone ac vultu intentus,  
 “quæsita interdum comitate, quamvis ma-  
 “nifestam defectionem tegebat; mutatisque  
 “sæpius locis, tandem apud promontorium  
 “Miseni consedit.” The same uneasiness of  
 mind, which dictated perpetual change of  
 place; the same endeavors to conceal the ad-  
 vances of disease, and the approach of death;  
 similar dissimulation, sustained even to the  
 concluding moments of their existence; were  
 common to both princes. In the very dis-  
 order of which they died, they resembled  
 each other. Tiberius, like Louis, was con-  
 sidered by his attendants, as having expired  
 of an apoplectic stroke, from which he never-  
 theless revived. “Interclusa anima,” says  
 Tacitus, “creditus est mortalitatem exple-  
 “visse.” Unlike only in one particular; that  
 the attendants of the Roman emperor anti-  
 cipated his end by violent means; while Louis  
 was allowed to terminate his life by the re-  
 gular course of nature.

After so minutely recapitulating the princi-  
 pal transactions of the reign of Louis the ele-  
 venth, and the principles of his general policy,  
 it




it will be needless to draw the character of *the king* with equal accuracy. The leading features that compose it, cannot be mistaken. His virtues, if he can properly be said to have possessed any, were those of duplicity and artifice : his vices, of natural disposition and of the heart. Even his understanding, tho' clear, sagacious, and discerning, was frequently so fine and subtle, that it misled him by its own cunning, and overshot his purposes. But, France under his reign, continued rapidly to rise in the scale of Europe. Charles the seventh laid the foundation of this aggrandizement, by his expulsion of the English, who had so long divided with his predecessors, the French monarchy. Louis added Burgundy, Artois, and Provence to the crown, in the space of two-and-twenty years. Only Bretagne remained, of the great fiefs, unannexed, at the time of his decease ; and it is evident that he meditated the recapture of Calais from England.

The malignant and unamiable character of Louis, did not prevent him from forming connexions of gallantry. History has preserved the names of several successive mistresses to whom

1483. whom he was attached. Margaret de Sas-senage is the most known and celebrated : she died before his accession to the crown ; but we never find that any of them influenced the sovereign, or assumed the least command over affairs of state. By his first wife, the princess Margaret of Scotland, he had no issue ; nor does it appear that he even consummated the marriage, or cohabited with her, on account of some secret defect in her person\*. His queen, Charlotte of Savoy, an amiable

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\* Margaret was daughter to James the first, and had only attained her eleventh year, when she was married in 1436, to Louis, then Dauphin. The English, after vainly endeavoring by negotiation, to prevent the matrimonial alliance between the crowns of France and Scotland, fitted out a fleet to intercept the princess on her passage. But she escaped this danger, and landed, tho' with great difficulty, at La Rochelle, from whence she was conducted to Tours, where the nuptials were celebrated. The defect which constituted the peculiar object of her husband's disgust or aversion, seems to be concealed very mysteriously, and is difficult to ascertain. Most of the contemporary authors assert, that her breath was very disagreeable, and from that cause arose his dislike to her. Comines only says, Louis never loved her, without assigning the specific

amiable princess, survived him only three months. 1483. 

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cific reason.—She was an accomplished princess in other respects, and protected letters. A singular anecdote is related of her, strongly corroborating this part of her character, while it displays the innocence of her manners, and the elevation of her mind.

Passing accidentally thro' an apartment where Alain Chartier, the most brilliant genius, but the ugliest man of his age, lay asleep, Margaret advanced up to him, and kissed him. Her ladies reproaching her by their looks, for this seeming violation of female modesty : “ It was not *the man*,” said she, “ whom I kissed, “ but the mouth from whence have proceeded so many “ admirable sentiments.”

She died at Chalons-sur-Marne, about eight years after her marriage, in 1444, without issue ; and, as the French authors in general inform us, of grief, on account of the imputations thrown upon her honor. But, Du Clos, in his history of Louis the eleventh, says, that Margaret walking in very sultry weather, from the castle of Sarry, near Chalons, to the church of Notre Dame de l'Epine, was seized with a pleurisy, which being added to her grief, soon carried her off, at nineteen years of age. He lavishes the highest encomiums on her qualities and accomplishments, personal, as well as intellectual.

## CHAP. IV.

*Accession of Charles the eighth.—Character of the regent, Anne, lady of Beaujeu.—Her administration.—Attempts on the duchy of Bretagne.—The duke of Orleans's intrigues and flight.—Battle of St. Aubin du Cormier.—His imprisonment.—Marriage of Anne of Bretagne to the king.—The duchy united to the crown.—Termination of the regency.—Charles's character.—He is inflamed with schemes of conquest.—Attack on the kingdom of Naples.—Romantic expedition.—His march.—Uninterrupted train of victory.—Coronation.—Return.—Battle of Fornoua.—Charles abandons himself to pleasures.—Naples lost.—New plans of invasion.—Renounced.—The king's change, and sudden death.—Circumstances of it.—Character.*

1483.

THE age of Charles the eighth at his accession to the crown, was of that critical nature, which rendered it difficult to provide for the administration of the government. He might have been reputed of age to conduct affairs in person, without any considerable

able violence done to the forms of the monarchy, since he had nearly completed his fourteenth year: but, the meanness of his education, the confinement to which he had always been subjected, and his feeble constitution, delicate and sickly, seemed to demand some abler, as well as more experienced conductor for the state. The late king, whose views were ever piercing and active, had foreseen this necessity, and had not failed to apply to it a remedy. In his expiring moments he nominated Anne, his eldest daughter, to the first charge of the government; but, with the title, not of regent, but of governess. 1483.

The princess, tho' in early youth, not having passed her twenty-second year, had received from nature all the qualities requisite for this high office. She possessed talents not inferior to her father; more uniformity of conduct, and greater magnanimity of mind. Her judgment was sound, without any mixture of that perfidious duplicity which debased the understanding of Louis. Tho' vindictive, not cruel; tho' tenacious of her dignity, neither violent nor imperious. Led aside  
by

1483. by no inferior passions, she felt her capacity for administration, to which she sacrificed the little gratifications of her age and sex. Mistress of eloquence and address, she knew how to possess, as well as how to retain, the authority delegated to her. Such are the colours under which the contemporary writers have transmitted to us her character; and we find them fully displayed during the short, but vigorous period, when she possessed the supreme command of affairs\*.

But,

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\* Anne of France, daughter to Louis the eleventh, was born in 1461. Her father, actuated by that jealous and capricious policy which always characterized his conduct, married her to Peter of Bourbon, Sire de Beaujeu, younger brother of the duke of Bourbon. He was, it is true, a prince of the blood royal, but, of a very remote and collateral branch; nor was he either endowed by nature with any superior talents, nor by fortune with ample possessions. These deficiencies were, however, his principal recommendations to Louis, who did not wish to aggrandize the family of Bourbon.—As the king approached towards the termination of his life and reign, he became more attached to his daughter Anne, and to her husband. They alone had the free and constant permission to enter the castle of Plessis-les-Tours, where he resided.

Louis

But, if talents so solid and various, ap-<sup>1483.</sup>  
peared to justify the confidence reposed in her  
by Louis the eleventh; equity and ancient  
usage, on the other hand, seemed to call Louis,  
duke of Orleans, to the direction of the state.  
His rank, as first prince of the blood, and  
presumptive heir to the crown, rendered his  
claim incontrovertible, if his youth did not  
diminish its force and validity; he having  
only just completed his twentieth year.  
Anne knew how to avail herself of this cir-  
cumstance; and, by means of that dexte-  
rity and management which she so emi-  
nently possessed, she secured to herself, not-  
withstanding the duke's opposition, the post  
with which she had been invested by her  
father.

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Louis constituted his son-in-law lieutenant-general of  
the kingdom, only a short time before his death; and  
by his last will, he appointed the lady of Beaujeu go-  
verness of the kingdom, to the exclusion of every other  
person allied to the crown.—She was the first princess  
of France, since the accession of the family of Valois,  
who had been invested with so high an office. It must  
be allowed that her superior qualities of mind, justified  
the choice made by Louis the eleventh.

1483. Her first acts were of the most ingratiating and popular nature. Several creatures, rather than ministers, of the late king, who had abused their favor by the commission of the greatest crimes, she surrendered up to public punishment\*. She revoked the donations which

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\* Among the most celebrated and odious of these victims to public justice, may be ranked Olivier, surnamed le Diable. He was a native of Thielt in Flanders, and from the inferior station of barber to Louis the eleventh, which he originally filled, became one of his chief favorites and ministers. He assumed the name of Le Daim, under which title he is commonly known in history. Elated by the royal protection, he proceeded to exercise many acts of insolence; and the king having conferred on him the lands of Meulant, he arrogated the name of Count de Meulant. Throughout the course of that sanguinary reign, he was the principal instrument of Louis's tyranny; and the inventor of various modes of torture, which were inflicted on the state criminals confined or executed by order of that monarch.—Olivier le Daim, together with his servant and assistant Daniel, were both hanged by sentence of the parliament.—Jean Doyac, another of the detestable ministers of Louis the eleventh, was involved in the punishment inflicted on the two first mentioned. This man, who was a native of Auvergne, and of the lowest extraction, had been made governor of  
of



which his superstition, added to his terrors of 1483. approaching death, had induced him to make to several convents and religious orders; and she finally conciliated universal favor, by a mild and equal government. These were however only the domestic and internal operations of the cabinet. Anne, more decisive and intrepid than her father, saw that the favorable moment was at hand, in which to reunite the province of Bretagne to the crown of France; nor was she deterred from the prosecution of her determination, by the numerous obstacles which presented themselves.

Francis the second, duke of Bretagne, being 1484. sunk into years and imbecility, had resigned all power into the hands of his minister, Lan-

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of that province, where he had committed various acts of public violence and rapacity. His sentence was equally singular and rigorous. He was condemned, after being whipt in all the open places, or squares of Paris, to have one of his ears cut off, and his tongue pierced thro' with a hot iron; thence to be conducted to his native city, Montferrand in Auvergne, where, after being again whipt, his other ear was to be cut off. The sentence was fully and rigorously executed. The estates and effects of the three criminals, were confiscated to the crown.

1481. ~~~~~  
dais ; whom an insinuating and flexible genius, calculated to rise in courts, had promoted from a low mechanical occupation, to the unlimited disposal of his master's favor. The nobility of Bretagne, incensed at so unworthy a choice, and irritated by the acts of oppression and violence which he committed, endeavored to ruin him ; but the duke, attached to his favorite, sheltered him from their indignation. Landais, not content with an escape, sought for revenge ; he menaced his enemies with punishment, and even proceeded to the execution of his threats. Necessity, united to the desire of vengeance, forced the nobles to recur for protection to the ministry of France. Anne, who only waited for the application, was about to grant them the requested assistance ; when an unexpected opposition which she met with from another quarter, compelled her to turn her views that way, and to relinquish for an instant, this her favorite project.

Tho' the superior address and policy of the princess his rival, had obliged the duke of Orleans to acquiesce in her nomination to the first post in the state ; yet, the disappointment of his ambition

ambition in so important a struggle, had naturally tended to create in him the strongest animosity towards her ; and his temper being open, as well as incapable of disguise, he was not studious to conceal his sentiments. An incident, small in itself, but, which was attended with very important consequences, displayed his resentment, and hastened the reduction of Bretagne. 1484.

While the court resided at the castle of Melun, the duke of Orleans and some other young noblemen being engaged in a party at tennis, of which the king and his sister, the Lady of Beaujeu, were spectators ; a dispute arising relative to a stroke which involved the decision of the game, it was referred to them. Madame de Beaujeu did not hesitate to award it against the duke ; who, incensed at what he apprehended to be an act of great injustice, and the result of personal enmity towards him, was so imprudent as to say, in a tone of voice by no means inaudible, “ Que quiconque l’avoit condamné, “ si c’étoit un homme, il en avoit menti ; et “ si c’étoit une femme, que c’étoit une putaine.”—This affront, which was of the

1485.  grossest nature, and such as modern decorum would not permit to be uttered with impunity, even towards equals; became unpardonable, when offered to a person of her sex and dignity, in the royal presence. Anne, mistress nevertheless, of her resentment, restrained it so far as not to order his immediate arrest; but she procured from the council an order for that purpose, which would have been carried directly into execution, if the duke had not secured himself by flight, and assembled his partizans and vassals for his defence. All resistance was, however, vain. She besieged him in the castle of Beaugency on the Loire; reduced him to terms of absolute submission; and left him no other authority, than that which his elevated rank alone procured him.

Louis, tho' impatient of so severe a yoke, was not in a condition to shake it off; and he therefore affected an entire acquiescence: but Anne, jealous and vigilant, having received information that he had entered into negotiations with the duke of Bretagne, sent  
1486. him an order to repair instantly to the king; and, on his attempting by a messenger to excuse himself on some frivolous prettexts, she  
com-

commanded the Marechal de Gié to conduct him to her. The duke of Orleans therefore obeyed, and began his journey; but having gone out on the ensuing morning, under pretence of trying some new falcons, he eluded his guards. Galloping without an instant's loss of time, to Fontevraud in Anjou, of which monastery his sister was abbess, he escaped beyond the limits of France, and gained the territories of his ally Francis. That prince received him with open arms, promised Louis to give him in marriage his daughter Anne, heiress to the duchy, and entered into the closest connexions with him, for their mutual support. 1486.

The nobility of Bretagne, who had incensed their sovereign by the destruction and death of his favorite Landais\*; apprehensive of 1487.

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\* Peter Landais, a native of the town of Vitre in Bretagne, was originally in no higher occupation of life than a journeyman tailor. In that capacity he obtained access to the person of the duke, and became gradually acceptable to him. He gained an unlimited ascendant over his master's mind, by being subservient to all his pleasures; and in particular, by procuring

1487. of a severe chastisement from this unexpected accession of strength, implored protection from the Lady of Beaujeu. She marched instantly a considerable army to their assistance; and, after several interior advantages, gained the celebrated battle of St. Aubin du Cormier, which decided the contest. The duke of Orleans, who fought on foot, and behaved with distinguished courage, was taken prisoner. After a short confinement at the castle of Lusignan in Poictou, he was conducted to the city of Bourges, where he remained a captive in the great tower of the castle, above two years.

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for him the most beautiful women. Grown insolent from the degree of favor to which he had attained, he irritated the nobility by every species of vexation and cruelty. Chauvin, chancellor of the duchy of Bretagne, who was infinitely beloved, not only by the people, but even by Francis himself, Landais put to death in prison, with every circumstance capable of rendering the crime more detestable. The nobles, driven to despair by these continued acts of violence, united for his destruction; and after missing their blow more than once, at length succeeded. They made themselves masters of his person, and hung him publicly on a gibbet, upon the 19th July, 1485.

The

The success of the French arms obliged the Lady of Beaujeu to throw aside the mask, and to declare openly to the Breton nobility, who pressed her to withdraw her troops, that this was not the time. An avowal, so plainly manifesting her intention to retain the duchy as a conquest, and to annex it for ever to the crown of France, re-united every disaffected subject, and restored to the duke his rebellious nobility. But, Francis, overcome with infirmities, and hurt by a fall from his horse, died at this juncture; leaving his daughter Anne, scarcely thirteen years of age, surrounded with dangers and enemies. 1488.  
Sept.

New factions, and new competitors arose, for this rich alliance. Alain, Seigneur d'Albret, a Gascon nobleman of ancient family, had several partizans. Maximilian, king of the Romans, who had been formerly married to Mary of Burgundy, and who was now become a widower, aspired to her hand; nor was the duke of Orleans's party, if he had not been detained a prisoner, yet extinct. The young princess having at length decided in favor of the king of the Romans, the marriage was not only solemnized by proxy, but, was attended with a singular 1489.

1489. singular and curious ceremony ; that of John  
 de Chalons, Count de Nassau, introducing  
 his naked leg into the bed of the bride, as  
 representing the person of Maximilian. If  
 he had come himself in person, as every prin-  
 ciple of policy dictated, the union would have  
 been rendered indissoluble : but, the abject,  
 and almost incredible parsimony of the em-  
 peror Frederic the third his father, who re-  
 fused him the inconsiderable sum of two  
 thousand crowns on this great occasion, de-  
 prived him of so important an acquisition.

The French council, fearing lest the prize  
 might be lost, in consequence of so many in-  
 trigues and delays, determined to send back  
 the princess Margaret of Austria, daughter  
 of Maximilian, to whom the king had been  
 long betrothed, and to demand Anne of Bre-  
 tagne for Charles the eighth. But, tho' she  
 1489 &  
 1490. was pressed by the most urgent necessity,  
 and invested by the forces of the sovereign  
 who courted her alliance, Anne nevertheless  
 disdained to violate the faith which she had  
 once pledged ; and she refused for a long time,  
 with magnanimous perseverance, to accept  
 any husband except him whom she had al-  
 ready



ready chosen. Being attacked however on every side, and even entreated to yield to the necessity of her situation, by the duke of Orleans himself, whom Charles liberated from prison, and sent to urge his suit; disgusted on the other hand, by the coldness of the king of the Romans, who did not manifest the anxiety or impatience, which such a match might justly excite; the young duchess yielded at length, and her nuptials with the king were celebrated at Langeais in Touraine\*. Maximilian

1489

&amp;

1490.

1491.

Dec.

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\* Anne of Bretagne, so famous in the annals of France, was born at Nantes, in January, 1476. She was promised in marriage, while yet in her infancy, to Edward, prince of Wales, son to Edward the fourth of England, who afterwards became the unfortunate Edward the fifth; but his premature death prevented the completion of this engagement. Her education was committed by her father Francis the second, to the care of Francoise de Dinant, Lady of Laval, who made her mistress of all the accomplishments which that unlettered age permitted. Her person, tho' not without defects, was agreeable; and her understanding, masculine and strong beyond her years. —The court of Bretagne was divided into several factions, who espoused the cause of the various pretenders to her hand. The Marechal de Rieux, and the Lady of Laval, were of the party, and in the interests of

1491. milian exclaimed loudly against this infringement of the most solemn matrimonial engagements; but the evil was without remedy, and the last great fief was swallowed up in the dominions of France.

1492. A more effectual and formidable resistance to the marriage of the heiress of Bretagne with the king of France, and to the incorporation of that most important province with the mass of the French monarchy, might have arisen from another quarter. Henry the seventh, after extinguishing the house of Plantagenet,

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of the Seigneur d'Albret; but that nobleman, who was already forty years of age, had eight legitimate, and six natural children. Anne herself refused to accomplish this engagement, tho' it had been made by her father, previous to his death.

Her own inclinations led her to prefer the duke of Orleans; but he was already married, and it was by no means certain that the dissolution of his marriage could be obtained; added to which, that prince was a prisoner in the tower of Bourges.—Necessity, rather than choice, directed her preference of Maximilian; and the ceremony of her marriage with him was celebrated by proxy, in the month of March, 1490. The poverty and the delays of Maximilian rendered void these nuptials, and compelled the reluctant princess to give her hand to Charles the eighth.

and

and fixing himself firmly on the throne of <sup>1492.</sup>  
England, could have extended the most effi-  
cacious succors to the Breton princess and  
nobility. He was bound to do it by every  
private sentiment of gratitude, no less than  
by all the motives of policy. During the  
reign of his predecessor, Richard the third,  
he had found in Bretagne an asylum from the  
pursuits of that prince. No man, therefore,  
could better appreciate the inestimable con-  
sequence of so vast an augmentation of power,  
revenue, and population, as the acquisition  
of the duchy must give to Charles the eighth.  
Henry's glory and his interests equally dic-  
tated to him to interfere with vigor. But, tho'  
wise, he was not magnanimous. The pre-  
servation of his power, and the accumulation  
of treasure, constituted during his whole life,  
his only incentives to action. He abandoned  
Bretagne to its fate. Imitating the conduct  
which Edward the fourth had exhibited in  
the affairs of Mary of Burgundy, Henry  
rather affected to make, than really made,  
an effort for the preservation of the duchy of  
Bretagne. He landed indeed, with an army Oct.  
at Calais, and threatened to advance into the  
interior

1492. interior provinces of the kingdom ; but was soon induced to retire into his own dominions, by the payment of a considerable sum of money ; a temptation irresistible to a prince of his sordid character !

With the important acquisition of Bretagne, which did so much honor to the wisdom and the vigor of her councils, may be said to have terminated the authority and the administration of Anne, Lady of Beaujeu. Her credit and political influence had already begun to diminish\*. The young king, who approached

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\* Anne became duchess of Bourbon, by the death of her husband's elder brother John, duke of Bourbon, who died without issue, in the month of April, 1488. The influence which Anne of Bretagne acquired over the mind of her husband, tended to diminish that of the Lady of Beaujeu ; yet she always continued to preserve a rank in the councils of state, during the reign of her brother Charles the eighth. She ventured, previous to his setting out on the memorable expedition against Naples, to give him the strongest admonitions and exhortations, respecting the pleasures in which he too wantonly indulged himself ; and which, it is probable, accelerated his end. On the king's final departure for Italy, Peter de Beaujeu, duke of Bourbon, her husband, was left regent ; but, as his very limited talents

proached to years of manhood, manifested <sup>1492.</sup>  
too great an impatience of controul, to be  
longer held in subjection; and his character  
expanding with his age, rendered him known  
to his people. No resemblance of his father  
Louis, appeared in Charles. Lively and bril-  
liant, but, of feeble judgment, he possessed  
a temper the most amiable, as well as gentle;  
and a heart, which even power could not cor-  
rupt to the commission of a crime. Fond of  
pleasure, tho' easily inflamed with the love of

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talents rendered him incapable of sustaining the weight  
of public affairs, Anne in reality exercised the supreme  
power. She is said to have strongly opposed the king's  
taking on him the command of the army in person,—  
Under the reign of Louis the twelfth, to whom, when  
duke of Orleans, she had been a declared enemy, she  
lived retired, and almost forgotten. The duke of Bour-  
bon, her husband, died in 1508. Anne herself sur-  
vived him many years, and expired at the castle of  
Chantelle, in the province of Bourbonnais, in Novem-  
ber, 1522, under the reign of Francis the first. She  
left only one child, Susanna, heiress to the vast posses-  
sions of the family of Bourbon, who was married to the  
celebrated and unfortunate Charles of Montpensier,  
better known in history by the title of the Constable of  
Bourbon, her cousin, to whom she brought her rich  
domains in dowry.

glory,

1492. glory, he sacrificed alternately to both ; and seemed to resemble his grandfather Charles the seventh, in the easy and rapid transitions, which he made from one to the other of those pursuits.

During the interval of tranquillity and peace, which succeeded to the reduction of Bretagne ; the courtiers, desirous of ingratiating themselves with their young sovereign, began first to inflame his imagination with ideas of fame and conquest. The pretensions, which, as heir to the house of Anjou, that had so long reigned in Naples, he inherited on that kingdom, formed a plausible and flattering subject to an ardent mind. Charles possessed the personal courage requisite for military exploits, and an immoderate thirst of glory. Ludovico Sforza, surnamed the Moor, brother to the celebrated Francisco Sforza, who, after the extinction of the family of Viscomti, had made himself duke of Milan ; and who was uncle to the reigning duke, Galeazzo ; invited and importuned Charles, from self-interested motives, to take possession of his right. Upon the first report of such an intention, Ferdinand the first, of the house of Arragon, who

who reigned in Naples, and who had passed his seventieth year; conscious of his inability to resist so superior a force, sent an embassy to the king of France, with propositions of the most submissive nature, offering to pay homage, and an annual tribute of fifty thousand crowns. These proposals, which in sound policy ought to have been accepted, were instantly refused: preparations for the projected expedition were begun; and such was the terror which they inspired, that the old king, terrified at the threatened invasion, and unable to avert it, died soon after of a disorder occasioned by grief and consternation\*.

1492.

1492  
&  
1493.

The

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\* Ferdinand the first, king of Naples, was a natural son of Alfonso the fifth, king of Arragon and Naples; surnamed the Wise and the Magnanimous. Alfonso had been called to the succession of the kingdom, by Jane the second, last queen of Naples of the first house of Anjou; but having afterwards rebelled against that princess, she attempted to revoke her donation, and to substitute Louis the third of Anjou in his place. Alfonso, however, not only established himself in the dominions originally bequeathed to him, but devolved them to his natural son Ferdinand, who was legitimated by Pope Eugene the fourth, and began his reign in

1492 & 1493. The passion for war and conquest having once gained possession of Charles, neither arguments, nor motives of policy, could induce him to relinquish his intention. His sister, the lady of Beaujeu, ineffectually endeavored to oppose so rash and ill-concerted an enterprise: but, having lost much of her former influence, she was no longer heard with attention. With such warmth was this injudicious determination adopted, that even the most important and solid territorial acquisitions were renounced, for the prospect of a

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1458. Ferdinand was twice dispossessed of his dominions by the princes of the second house of Anjou, and as often recovered them again, by the protection and assistance of the Holy See. Scanderbeg, prince of Epirus, so renowned in the wars of Greece against the Turkish Sultans, passed over into Sicily to defend him against the attempts of the princes of the family of Anjou. Tho' Comines and the other French historians speak of Ferdinand as so detestable a prince, it does not appear that he was deficient in policy or in capacity. His apprehension of the consequences of the French invasion, and his inability to avert so great a calamity, hastened his end, by bringing on him an apoplectic seizure; of which he died in January, 1494, some months previous to the departure of Charles the eighth for the conquest of Naples.

contin-



contingent and distant crown. The two provinces of Rousillon and Cerdagne, on the frontier of Catalonia, which Louis the eleventh had acquired during the troubles in Spain, by unwearied exertions of patient policy; and the possession of which he had secured, by purchasing them of John the second king of Arragon, for three hundred thousand crowns; were ceded to Ferdinand the Catholic, his successor, only to obtain his neutrality during the projected attack on Naples. It was reserved for the Cardinal de Richlieu, to re-unite them once more to the crown of France. None of the absurd and legendary adventures of chivalry were ever more romantic; nor were the Crusades in the twelfth century, undertaken in greater contradiction to reason and the true interests of the French monarchy; than the expedition of Charles. Destitute of pecuniary resources, without any certain or honorable ally, and with only a small number of troops; courageous and gallant, but unaccustomed to the fatigues of long, or disastrous campaigns; he undertook to march over the Alps and the Appennines, to the extremity of Italy, thro' the dominions of the Pope

1492  
&  
1493.



1492 and of the republic of Florence, both which  
&  
1493. powers had openly declared against him.

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1494. After a number of delays, unavoidable at  
August. the commencement of such an enterprise,  
Charles began his march. While he waited  
at the town of Ast in Piedmont, for his artil-  
lery, which was obliged to be dragged over  
the mountains, he was seized with the small-  
pox, from which he only recovered after in-  
curring the most imminent danger of his life.  
Such was the distress of his finances, that at  
Turin he was necessitated to borrow all the  
rings and jewels of the Duchess of Savoy; as  
he did at Casal, those of the Marchioness of  
Montferrat, in order to supply the necessary and  
immediate expences of the war\*. Ludovico  
Sforza,

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\* Comines, who was sent by Charles the eighth to  
Venice, as his ambassador to that republic, previous  
to the king's entrance into Italy, has given the most  
faithful narration of this celebrated expedition. It long  
hung in suspense, totally laid aside on one day, and  
resumed on the following. Comines expressly says,  
that the duke and duchess of Bourbon endeavored by  
every possible means to prevent it. No adequate funds  
were provided for the payment of the forces. Fifty thou-  
sand ducats were procured from a merchant of Milan,  
by

Sforza, who met the king at Vigeve, quitted him again in a few days, in order to take possession of the duchy of Milan, which he seized on the death of Galeazzo, his nephew, tho' that prince had left an infant son. If Charles had pursued the dictates of sound policy, it was obvious that he should have begun by subjecting the Milanese, which justly belonged to Louis, duke of Orleans, in right of his descent from the family of Viscomti, by his grandmother, Valentina: but, intoxicated with the expected conquest of Naples, and inattentive to more solid acquisitions, he continued his progress. 1494.

The Florentines, who aspired to freedom, having expelled Pietro de Medecis, son of the great Lorenzo, and chief of the republic; on Charles's approach to the frontiers of Tuscany, received the king in military triumph

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by the intervention of Ludovico Sforza. A hundred thousand livres were advanced at an exorbitant interest, by the bank of Genoa. Twelve thousand ducats were received, on depositing as security the jewels of the Duchess of Savoy; and as many more, for the jewels of the Marchioness of Montferrat. Such were the scanty and precarious resources, on which depended the prosecution of the famous invasion of Naples.

1494. into their city. Dressed in complete armour,  
 mounted on horseback, his lance couched,  
 Nov. and his vizor lowered, he entered Florence as  
 a conqueror. Alexander the sixth, the reign-  
 ing pontiff, retired on receiving this intelli-  
 gence, into the castle of St. Angelo, after he  
 had commanded the gates of Rome to be  
 thrown open: while Charles, victorious with-  
 Dec. out a blow, took possession of the ancient  
 capital of the world, as if by right of con-  
 quest, and disposed of his troops in the dif-  
 1495. ferent quarters of the place. The Pope soon  
 capitulated; and after signing a treaty, of  
 such a nature as the necessity of his affairs  
 reduced him to conclude, the French army,  
 quitting Rome, resumed its march.

Meanwhile all was confusion and disorder  
 at Naples. Alfonso the second, who had  
 succeeded his father Ferdinand in the throne,  
 yielding to terrors the most unmanly, and  
 almost incredible, resigned the sceptre to  
 young Ferdinand his son, and fled into a  
 monastery at Messina in Sicily\*. The new  
 king,

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\* In the history of mankind, there scarcely exists an  
 instance of so base and unmanly a desertion of all the  
 duties

king, after being defeated in a slight engagement with the French, which he hazarded, 1495.  
was

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duties of a sovereign, as is found in the conduct of Alfonso the second, king of Naples, when invaded by Charles the eighth. Manfred, his predecessor, who fell in the battle of Benevento, when Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis, conquered Naples, in 1266; had gloriously defended his crown against invasion. Alfonso's pusillanimity appears the more extraordinary, as previous to that æra he had merited the character of an active, brave, and warlike prince. Comines expressly asserts this fact, tho' he brands Alfonso with every epithet of ignominy and contempt, for his dastardly dereliction of the throne and kingdom. Neither Alfonso, nor his son Ferdinand the second, could ever be induced, during the life of the old king Ferdinand the first, to believe that the threatened invasion of the French would in reality take place. They were even accustomed to speak of it in terms of ridicule and menace, declaring that they would come to the foot of the Alps, in order to find out, and to give battle to the king of France.—Comines enumerates many acts of violence and tyranny, which Alfonso had committed; and peculiarly, his putting to death twenty-six of the principal Neapolitan nobility during his short reign, who had been detained in prison by his father Ferdinand for a number of years. "No sooner," adds that historian, "was the young duke of Calabria, Ferdinand, returned to Naples with the forces which  
x 4
" he

1495. was obliged to shelter himself in the isle of Ischia. Naples instantly received the conqueror;

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“ he had commanded against Charles, than his father  
 “ Alfonso judged himself no longer worthy to retain  
 “ the crown, on account of his oppressions. He,  
 “ therefore, determined to crown his son, which reso-  
 “ lution he executed immediately ; and Ferdinand  
 “ made a public procession on horseback, thro’ the  
 “ principal streets, accompanied by his uncle Frede-  
 “ ric, the cardinal of Genoa, the ambassadors, and  
 “ the grandees.”

If we may credit all the contemporary historians, Alfonso’s panic rose to a degree approaching alienation of mind. Such were his fears, that tho’ the French army was sixty leagues distant, he apprehended that he saw them in the streets of Naples, and that the very walls, trees, and stones cried out, “ France ! ” The queen-dowager, his mother-in-law, imploring him only to remain three days, which were wanting to complete a year from his accession to the crown, he refused ; and even threatened, if he was longer detained against his inclination, to throw himself from the windows of the palace. After having caused his son Ferdinand therefore to be solemnly crowned, he embarked on board a vessel for Messina, carrying with him all sorts of wines, and seeds for his gardens, to both which pleasures he was immoderately attached. He had likewise some jewels, and a small sum of money. Landing in Sicily, he retired into a convent at Messina ; where  
 abandon-

queror: the castles, constructed for the defence of the capital, held out during a very short

1495.

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abandoning himself to superstitious and monastic austerities, he soon contracted a disorder of which he died, within a year from Charles the eighth's invasion of Naples.

Comines describes him as a monster of impiety and cruelty. Some circumstances of his oppressions and enormities, which he enumerates, are very singular. "Alfonso and his father Ferdinand," says he, "were both accustomed to deliver out hogs to the people to fatten, and if any of them died, they were obliged to repay the king. They bought up all the oil in Apulia, as well as the wheat, before it was ripe, and at a very inferior price, which they afterwards compelled their subjects to purchase at an extravagant rate. They took the finest horses of the nobility, and retained them by force. Even their wives were not sacred or secure from their violence. They indulged themselves in the commission of every species of lasciviousness and barbarity: Ferdinand sold the bishopric of Tarento to a Jew, for thirteen thousand ducats. They gave abbeys to their falconers, under the tenure of maintaining out of the ecclesiastical lands, a number of falcons, and keepers for those birds, at their own expence." Comines, with a sort of sacred horror, sums up the list of his iniquities, by declaring, "that Alfonso never kept Lent, nor even pretended to do so; and would neither go to confession,

1495. short time ; and of the whole kingdom, only  
 the three towns of Brindisi, Reggio, and  
 Galli-

“ sion, nor receive the sacrament.” These were the most flagitious excesses of which the human mind could conceive an idea, in the fifteenth century, and seemed to eclipse all his other crimes. It may however be doubted, if the vices of these princes were not much exaggerated.

Giannonè speaks in very different terms of Ferdinand the first, from the language used by Philip de Comines, and the French historians. He says, that Ferdinand’s prudence, his wise and temperate policy, together with his love of letters, and protection of learned men, rendered him one of the greatest sovereigns of his time. He deplors that prince’s death, as a calamity to his family, to Naples, and to Italy in general. “ Had he lived,” says Giannonè, “ it cannot be doubted that he would have defeated the enterprise of Charles the eighth.” He relates the circumstances of Ferdinand’s illness and death, nearly as Comines and Guicciardini have done.—“ While,” says he, “ the king was occupied in endeavoring to put the army in a state to receive so powerful an enemy as was now approaching ; the agitation and uneasiness of his mind, resulting from his incapacity to avert so great an impending calamity, brought on him a catarrh ; to which being added a fever, he breathed his last, on the fourteenth day of his illness, at Naples, on the 25th January, 1495 ; more overcome by the anxiety,  
 “ of




Gallipoli, continued to declare for Ferdinand \*. Fer- 1495.  
Feb.

Dazzled

“of his mind, than by his advanced age.”—Of Alfonso the second, it must be confessed that Giannonè speaks differently. He allows, that Alfonso had alienated the affections of a great part of the Neapolitan nobility, by his haughtiness and severities; that he was, previous to the expedition of Charles the eighth, altogether exclusively addicted to the love of arms; and that he did not extend that princely protection to men of letters, which had distinguished his father Ferdinand. Yet, Giannonè represents him as a magnificent and able monarch.

The circumstances of his flight from Naples, agree in general with those related by Comines. “Alfonso landed,” says Giannonè, “at Mazzara in Sicily, an estate belonging to the queen-dowager his mother-in-law, which had been given her by Ferdinand king of Arragon, her brother. From thence he went soon after to Messina, where he immediately betook himself to a monastic life; and had he lived, his intentions were to have become a monk in the convent of Valenza in Sicily. But he was attacked with the gravel to so violent a degree, as to put an end to his life, within ten months from his leaving Naples, on the 19th November, 1495.”

\* Ferdinand, on his arrival at Naples, finding that the inhabitants of that capital, as well as those of Aversa and Capua, were ready to revolt, and had even already  
sent

1495.  Dazzled with so extraordinary a train of success, Charles already meditated the attack of Constantinople, and the subversion of the Ottoman empire. Every obstacle had yielded to his arms ; and during so long, as well as

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sent delegates to offer their submission to Charles the eighth, convoked a number of the nobility and people in the great square of the Castel Nuovo. He then released them from their oath and homage so recently taken to him, and even recommended to them to make conditions with the French monarch. The affection which Ferdinand expressed for his subjects in this disastrous crisis, affected them strongly in his favor ; but such was the hatred of the people and of the nobility to his father Alfonso, that nothing could arrest their violence. A tumult arose, and even in the royal presence the people began to plunder his stables. Ferdinand, therefore, quitting Naples, went instantly on board his gallies, which were waiting for him in the port ; accompanied only by his uncle Frederic, the queen-dowager, widow of Ferdinand the first, and her daughter Joanna, together with a few followers. He made sail for the island of Ischia ; and as he looked back at the city of Naples, which he had just been compelled to abandon, he often repeated with a loud voice, a quotation from the Psalms, "*Nisi Dominus custodieret civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam.*"—These particulars are all collected from Guicciardini and Giannone.

difficult

difficult a march, scarcely an enemy had ap- 1495.  
peared, to oppose his passage. But, amidst  
this train of prosperity, he did not foresee  
the impending reverse. Resigning himself to  
the excesses of youth, and elated with the  
favors of fortune, no steps were taken to se-  
cure the dominions that he had acquired. Ban-  
quets and masquerades succeeded each other;  
and to so great a degree of inattention was his  
negligence carried, that troops were not even  
sent to receive the places which submitted, and  
acknowledged the French sovereignty.

The great powers of Europe, who had  
hitherto beheld, apparently unmoved, this  
rapid conquest and subversion of Italy, began  
to awaken from their inaction. A league was  
speedily concluded between Pope Alexander  
the sixth, the republic of Venice, the Em-  
peror Maximilian, the Archduke Philip his  
son, as sovereign of the Low Countries, and  
lastly, Ferdinand, king of Arragon. Even the  
perfidious Ludovico Sforza, duke of Milan,  
violating the ties of gratitude which should  
have attached him to France, acceded to this  
powerful confederacy.

It became necessary for Charles to think of  
effecting

1495. effecting a retreat, while it was still practicable. He therefore determined on beginning it, after having previously made a triumphal entry into the capital of his new kingdom, dressed in the imperial ornaments, holding a globe in his right hand, and a sceptre in his left; while a canopy was supported over him by the first nobility of the country, and all the people exclaimed, “Long  
May. “live the most august emperor!” This ostentatious ceremony being performed, he quitted Naples; and passing again thro’ the papal territories, was so imprudent as to lose twelve or fifteen days at Pisa and Sienna, during which time the great confederate army assembled. Louis, duke of Orleans, who ought to have conducted eight or nine thousand men to the assistance of his sovereign, had incautiously engaged in an attempt against Ludovico Sforza; and having surprized the city of Novarra in the Milanese, was afterwards blocked up in that place by the enemy. Such was the respect inspired by the French arms, that the allied army, tho’ four times more numerous than that of the king, did not venture to attack him among the mountains

tains of the Appennines; but waited for him <sup>1495.</sup>  
 near the village of Fornoua, nine miles from  
 Placentia, in an open plain. The courage of  
 the French, animated by the presence of  
 their king, was superior to all opposition;  
 they defeated the enemy, pursued their march <sup>July.</sup>  
 towards France, and reached the city of Ast  
 in Piedmont, without further molestation\*.

The

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\* Comines, who had remained at Venice during the king's march thro' Italy to Naples, quitted that city, on the senate acceding to the league formed against his master, and joined him at Sienna, in his return to France. He was present at the battle of Fornoua, of which he has left us a minute relation. "The young king," says he, "was on horseback by seven o'clock in the morning of the 6th of July, on which day the action happened, and ordered me several times to be called: I came, and found him armed from head to foot, mounted on the finest horse I have seen in my time, named Savoy. He was presented to the king by Charles, duke of Savoy, and was of the province of Bresse, black, and had only one eye." Charles ordered Comines to hold a parley with the enemy, if they were so inclined; which was done, but to no effect.—The battle was soon decided in favor of the French, tho' the king was in imminent danger of being killed, or made prisoner. He was  
 among

1495. The duke of Orleans continued still shut up in Novarra; but Charles at length marching to his relief, extricated him with difficulty from his perilous situation, the garrison having sustained the extremest distresses of famine. Never was any expedition less beneficial, either in its immediate, or in its remote effects, than that of Charles against Naples. Temerity, and want of all system or precaution for securing the conquests made, seem to have characterized every step of the

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among the first of those who charged the enemy, and the Bastard of Bourbon was taken prisoner within twenty paces of him. Tho' seven or eight young noblemen were appointed to guard and attend his person, yet he was left once almost alone, only a valet-de-chambre, named Antoine des Ambus, being with him. In this situation he was attacked by a band of the enemy; but Charles, principally owing to the excellence of his horse, defended himself till he was rescued by some of his own soldiers. This circumstance the king related the same evening to Comines, after the battle.—The victory of Fornova was not improved, and was in fact merely nominal. The French decamped two days after the action, privately in the night, and pursued their march to Ast, which they reached in eight days, having undergone incredible fatigues, and being continually pursued by the great allied army.

enter-

enterprize. The impetuous courage of the French alone extricated them at Fornoua, and saved Charles the eighth from the fate which befel Francis the first, thirty years afterwards, at Pavia. Louis, duke of Orleans, as narrowly escaped at Novarra. Thus, the enemy were on the point of capturing the sovereign, and the presumptive heir to the French monarchy, nearly at the same moment. It is difficult to calculate what might have been the consequences to France, of two such disasters. 1495.

The king had not sufficient patience to attend the conclusion of a treaty which was in agitation with Ludovico Sforza ; but, quitting the fatigues of a camp, returned in haste to Lyons, where he again abandoned himself to dissipation and pleasures. All the hasty and imperfect acquisitions which he had made, were neglected and speedily forgotten. The declension of the French affairs in the kingdom of Naples, as rapid as the conquest of it had been, left in a short time no trace of his expedition. Ferdinand the second, more worthy of a throne than his father, returned to

1495. the capital from which he had been expelled\*.  
Gilbert, duke of Montpensier, who had been  
left

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\* After the retreat of young Ferdinand, from Naples to the island of Ischia, he remained there till the 20th of March, 1495, when he quitted it; leaving Iunico d'Avalos, brother of the marquis of Pescara, to defend it, while he went in person to Messina in Sicily, in order to consult with his father Alfonso, on the means of restoring their affairs. He was received by the inhabitants of Messina with great demonstrations of joy. He then determined to have recourse to the fatal expedient of calling in the assistance of Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Arragon, to expel the French, and re-conquer his dominions. Ferdinand was nearly allied to him by blood and marriage, as well as by treaties. The king of Arragon immediately promised him a naval and military force; and in consequence dispatched Gonsalvo Ernandez, commonly called "the Great Captain," to conduct Ferdinand to Naples, as soon as circumstances should favor the attempt. While Gonsalvo was occupied in reducing Calabria to obedience, Ferdinand the second embarked from Messina, and had no sooner arrived on the coast of Salerno, than that city and Amalfi immediately declared for him. When he approached the city of Naples, Montpensier, anxious to prevent his landing, marched out to meet him. The inhabitants, availing themselves of the absence of the French commander, proclaimed Ferdi-



left viceroy there, after a long and obstinate attempt to retain possession of it, was not only obliged to surrender himself and his troops, prisoners of war; but, to capitulate for the complete evacuation of the whole kingdom in a month. The other French commanders refusing to ratify or execute so ignominious a treaty, Montpensier was sent, together with the forces which he commanded, to Puzzoli; where a malignant distemper destroyed both himself, and the greater part of his unhappy countrymen\*. Naples appeared to

1495.

Oct.

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Ferdinand anew, and received him into the city on the 7th of July, with loud acclamations. He made a procession thro' the capital on horseback, and such was the universal satisfaction expressed at his return, that Giannonè says, the ladies were never satisfied with flinging flowers and odoriferous waters on the young king, as he passed under the windows; while the first nobles ran to embrace him in the streets, and to wipe the sweat from his face. Capua, Aversa, Otranto, and many other places, followed the example of Naples, and returned to their allegiance.

\* This unfortunate prince, who descended from a collateral branch of the house of Bourbon, was allied to the royal blood. The melancholy fate of his army, and the destruction of the French affairs, probably ac-

1495. to be completely reduced under its ancient masters, when Ferdinand, a prince of high expectations, died at a most critical juncture, in the prime of youth. By the successive abdication or death of three kings in so short a space of time, his uncle Frederic succeeded to the vacant throne\*.

Mean-

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celerated his end. Comines seems to leave it uncertain whether his death was a natural one, or not. "Aucuns disent de poison," says he, "et autres, de sievre; ce que je crois mieux."—The greater part of the French troops, and the Switzers who were in that service, to the number of about four thousand, perished of famine and disease, in the island of Procida. Of between five and six thousand men who surrendered prisoners to Ferdinand, king of Naples, scarce fifteen hundred ever returned to France.

\* While Ferdinand was preparing, says Giannonè, to expel the few remaining French from Gaieta and Tarento, the two only places of consequence which they still occupied in the kingdom, he was arrested by death. He had just married Joanna, daughter to the queen dowager, and niece to Ferdinand the Catholic, with the intention of cementing the alliance between that monarch and himself: Alexander the sixth gave a dispensation for the purpose. The young king and queen were diverting themselves in a palace, at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, when he was attacked with a violent

Meanwhile new plans of invasion were set on foot in the court of France, and prosecuted with vigor. So determined did the king appear to march a second time into Italy, that preparatory to his intended departure, in compliance with the superstition of the age, he repaired to St. Denis, to take leave of the holy saints and martyrs who are

1496.

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1497.

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violent complaint, and being removed to Naples, died in a few days, in the month of October. His father Alfonso therefore survived him. Giannonè speaks of Ferdinand with high encomiums.—Comines's account nearly coincides with that of the Italian historians. Ferdinand, says he, had only just married his own aunt, a young lady of fourteen years old. She was the legitimate daughter of his grandfather Ferdinand, by his second wife, who was sister to Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Arragon, and of consequence half sister to the late king Alfonso, his father. Comines mentions this marriage with great horror, as being unnatural and incestuous; adding, that several of the same nature had been already contracted in the family of the kings of Naples. We have witnessed more than one similar alliance in our own times, among the princes and princesses of the house of Braganza, reigning in Portugal. Ferdinand survived the surrender of the duke of Montpensier's army, only a very short time, and expired of a hectic fever and dysentery, in the little town of Somma, at the foot of Mount Vesuvius.

1496  
&  
1497. buried in that Abbey. The cavalry had even passed the Alps, and the duchy of Milan was selected for the object of their first attack, when all these preparations were suddenly suspended, and afterwards laid aside. It is pretended, that Charles's attachment to one of the queen's maids of honor, occasioned this extraordinary change in his resolutions: but it is more natural to attribute it to the decay of his health, which being originally delicate, and impaired by his excesses, began to manifest alarming symptoms of decline. The duke of Orleans was so sensible of this apparent alteration, which might speedily leave the succession open to him, that he refused to take upon him the command of the army destined against Milan; and every appearance of war was totally relinquished\*.

The

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\* The young Dauphin, Charles, only son of Charles the eighth and Anne of Bretagne, died about two months after the king's return to Lyons, in the month of February, 1496. His death again rendered the duke of Orleans presumptive heir to the crown of France. The king, says Comines, put on mourning, as custom compelled him to do; but was not deeply affected

The king, whether conscious that his irregular pleasures had been productive of very injurious consequences to his health, or whether from motives of conscientious scruple, is uncertain; renounced all his past irregularities. Retiring with the queen, to whom he was exceedingly attached, to the castle of Amboise, situated on the Loire, he there occupied himself in making some additions to the palace, and in erecting new apartments. Resigning for the present his ideas of foreign conquest, he began to provide for the internal tranquillity of his kingdom; and he was occupied in these salutary regulations, when a death equally sudden and singular, put an end to his intentions. 1498.

On the day that this event took place, Charles being in an old gallery at Amboise, from whence he surveyed a game of Tennis, which was played in the ditch of the castle; desirous of amusing the queen with the same entertainment, repaired to her chamber, and

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affected by the loss of the Dauphin. Anne, on the contrary, was inconsolable for her son's death, and wore mourning during a long time. Ambition had at least as much share as maternal affection, says the historian, in the grief of the queen.

1498.  taking her by the hand, conducted her to the gallery. While passing thro' the door which opened into it, he struck his head with violence against the top, which was very low; but he nevertheless experienced no immediate bad consequences from the accident. He had even so entirely forgotten the blow, as to be subsequently engaged in deep conversation with his confessor, Jaques de Resli, bishop of Angers, on religious matters. The king, who had determined to relinquish the licentious course of life in which he had indulged himself during the first years of his marriage, was in the act of professing his resolution to observe sacredly henceforward the nuptial fidelity that he owed to the queen, when he suddenly fell backwards in an apoplectic fit. The courtiers and attendants, terrified at so alarming a seizure, immediately laid him on a small pallet-bed, which by accident stood in a corner of the gallery; and on which, notwithstanding every effort of medical skill, he April 7. expired at eleven o'clock, on the same night\*.

The

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\* Philip de Comines says, that the king thrice recovered his voice, but quickly lost it again, as the confessor

The instant that the king had breathed his last, every one of his attendants quitted the body ; and leaving him in the place where he died, galloped in haste to Blois, where Louis, 1498.

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fessor who waited by his majesty, assured him. At each time of his recovering his speech, he cried out, “ Mon Dieu, et la glorieuse Vierge Marie, Monseigneur St. Claude, et Monseigneur St. Blaise, me soient en aide ! ” He calls the distemper of which Charles expired, a catarrh and apoplexy ; and adds, that the indications of his approaching end were apparent to the physicians, for three or four days before his last seizure. Yet they entertained hopes that the disease would only fall on his arms, of which he would probably lose the use. Some of the French historians have notwithstanding, pretended, tho’ without any shadow of proof or probability, that he was poisoned with an orange. It is more natural to apprehend that his irregularities enfeebled his constitution, and accelerated his end.—His funeral was performed, by order of Louis the twelfth, with uncommon solemnity and magnificence. The royal body lay eight days in state at Amboise, in an apartment hung with black, during which time, continual masses and Requiemns were performed for the repose of his soul, by various monastic orders. He was not interred till a month after his decease, and the expences of his funeral amounted to no less a sum than forty-five thousand livres,

duke

1498. duke of Orleans, then resided, in order to announce to that prince his accession to the crown: while Anne of Bretagne, overcome with grief, and very strongly attached to her husband, abandoned herself to all the distraction of sorrow. It is said that she remained in a corner of her chamber during two days, constantly refusing any nourishment, and lost in despair. Perhaps, her mortified ambition might, in some degree, cause so immoderate a distress, as, by Charles's death she saw herself again reduced from the rank of queen of France, to a duchess of Bretagne; the two sons which she had brought the king, having both lived a very short time.

The strokes of Charles's character are few and simple. He was surnamed the Affable, and the Courteous; nor is it known that in his whole life, he ever offended or disgusted any one of his servants or subjects. His temper was sweet, and yielding to an excess; open to the impressions of generosity, humanity, and benevolence. In his person he was little, and ungraceful; his shoulders high, his face plain, and his speech slow and inter-



interrupted\*: his eyes alone were lively and expressive. Comines's description of him is uncommonly forcible, tho' laconic.—“ Petit  
 “ homme de corps, et peu entendu ; mais si  
 “ bon, qu'il n'est point possible de voir meil- 1498.

\* Brantome takes, nevertheless, some pains to contradict this idea of Charles the eighth, and even produces in opposition to it, the testimony of his grandmother, the Senechale of Poictou, who had been a lady of honor to the duchess of Bourbon (Anne de Beaujeu), and consequently knew the king's person perfectly. She described him as having a handsome and engaging face ; and tho' low and slender in his figure, yet as well made and agreeable.

If the effigy in Bronze, upon his tomb at the abbey of St. Denis, where he is in a kneeling attitude, may be supposed to resemble the king, which cannot be doubted ; it confirms Brantome's assertion. That writer accuses Guicciardini of malignity, in belying and depreciating Charles's person, in revenge for the calamities that he had brought upon Italy. We may remark that a degree of similar uncertainty prevails respecting Richard the third, king of England, who lived nearly at the same period of time. The antipathy of a triumphant party appears greatly to have magnified, or exaggerated, that prince's personal defects. Francis the first always expressed, it is said, a peculiar veneration for, and affection towards the memory, of Charles the eighth.

“ leure

1498. “leure créature.”—There is a simplicity in the portrait, which charms and affects the mind\*.

Tho’ Charles’s passion for pleasure was excessive, and is even supposed to have conduced to hasten his death; yet we do not find the name of any particular mistress, to whom he appears to have been long attached, or who obtained any extraordinary ascendancy over him. His capacity was limited, and rendered more so by the mean and confined education which he received in the castle of Amboise, during Louis the eleventh his father’s life: but, the virtues of his heart, his observance of justice,

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\* “I arrived,” says Comines, “at Amboise, two days after the king’s death, and went immediately to pray by his dead body, and remained by it five or six hours. Never was such a mourning seen, nor one which lasted so long. None of his chamberlains or officers quitted the corpse, nor ever were royal obsequies more magnificently performed.” He repeatedly speaks of him as the most excellent and amiable of princes, who was deservedly dear to all who knew him, or ever had access to his person. It is not possible to do justice to the expressions which Comines uses, except by transcribing them.—“La plus humble et douce parole d’homme que jamais fut, étoit la sienne; car, je crois que jamais a homme ne dit chose qui lui deut déplaire.”


and

and the unbounded benignity of his disposition, rendered him universally beloved. Two of his domestics are said to have died of grief for the loss of their master. He had not completed his twenty-eighth year, when death deprived his people of so amiable a king. 1498.

In Charles terminated the direct line of the race of Valois; Louis, duke of Orleans, who succeeded him in the throne, being descended from a collateral branch. He was grandson to Louis, the first duke of Orleans, brother of Charles the sixth; assassinated by John, duke of Burgundy, ninety years before, in the "rue Barbette" at Paris.

## CHAP. V.

*Accession and character of Louis the twelfth.—His divorce, and marriage with Anne of Bretagne.—Conquest of Milan, and imprisonment of Ludovico Sforza.—Second conquest of Naples, and division of it with Ferdinand of Arragon.—Perfidy of that prince.—Gonsalvo de Cordova drives out the French.—Magnanimity of Louis.—His dangerous illness.—Death of Isabella, queen of Castile.—Julius the second's accession to the papal See.—His character.—League of Cambray.—Death of the Cardinal of Amboise.—Ambition and enterprises of Julius.—Appearance of Gaston de Foix.—His victories.—Battle of Ravenna.—Death.—Circumstances of it.—French driven out of Italy.—Death of Julius the second.—Accession of Leo the tenth to the Pontificate.—Illness and death of Anne of Bretagne.—Her character.—The king's grief.—Marriage of Francis, Count d'Angoulesme, to the princess Claude.—State of the court.—Louis's third marriage.—Illness.—Death.—Character.*

1498.  
 LOUIS the twelfth had attained his thirty-sixth year, at the time of his accession to the throne of France. His judgment, naturally

naturally clear and discerning, was ripened <sup>1498.</sup>  
by experience; and his heart, impressed by  
nature with every generous or beneficent sen-  
timent, was rendered peculiarly capable of feel-  
ing the calamities of others, by those which he  
had undergone himself, while duke of Orleans.  
Under Louis the eleventh, he had been treated  
with cruel and unmerited severity; compelled  
to contract a marriage the most repugnant to  
his inclinations, and denied the privileges of  
his rank. Under the succeeding administra-  
tion of the lady of Beaujeu, he was watched  
with unremitting and jealous vigilance. The  
fault which he committed, by appearing in  
arms against his sovereign, at the battle of  
St. Aubin du Cormier, had been fully ex-  
piated by a long and rigorous imprisonment,  
which succeeded. The mild and forgiving  
temper of Charles the eighth had, indeed,  
released him from this captivity, and had given  
him a distinguished command in the Italian  
expedition. But, he was notwithstanding  
ever regarded with a sort of cautious aliena-  
tion; and he was in personal disgrace with  
Anne of Bretagne, at the time of Charles's  
decease, on account of an unintentional  
offence,

1498. offence, which was highly resented by the queen\*.

The first acts of his administration were consistent with his preceding character, and discovered fully that virtuous integrity, and that magnanimity superior to the desire of revenge, which uniformly appeared in his conduct, thro'out every period of his reign. He began by alleviating the taxes which had been laid on the people; and when he was pressed by his courtiers, to punish those who


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\* The nature of this undesigned injury was very peculiar. The young Dauphin Charles was dead; and the king finding that the queen's mind was much affected by so melancholy an event, advised some recreation to divert her grief, which might otherwise prey on her constitution. The duke of Orleans, with this intention, appeared at a masquerade, accompanied with several of the nobility, in the castle of Amboise; and exerted himself in a dance with a lady of the court, which he carried to a degree of gay extravagance. It produced the very opposite effect to that which he intended; for the queen interpreting all these marks of levity and mirth, to his satisfaction at the Dauphin's death, which rendered him again presumptive successor to the crown, was so exceedingly offended, that she obliged him to leave the court, and retire to the castle of Blois.

had

had been his enemies and avowed opponents 1498.  
under the two preceding reigns, he made that celebrated reply, worthy of perpetual remembrance: "It becomes not a king of France, "to revenge the quarrels of a duke of Orleans." leans."

Tho' Louis was eager to recover the kingdom of Naples from Frederic the new sovereign; and tho' he was equally determined to assert his title to the duchy of Milan, usurped by Ludovico Sforza; yet a domestic concern, which involved in it very important public consequences, claimed his first and earliest attention. The princess Jane, daughter of Louis the eleventh, to whom he had been married more than twenty years; tho' she possessed the most estimable qualities, yet was not only regarded as incapable of producing children, but her personal defects might justly render her an object of alienation. On the other hand, the queen-dowager, Anne of Bretagne, had already retired into her duchy, as into a foreign state, of which she was the independent sovereign. The articles of her marriage with Charles the eighth, were indeed of such a nature as precluded

1498.  cluded her from the disposal of her hand, to the injury of the state, in case of his death without male issue. But, this convention might be eluded or violated, and good policy required that the strictest regard should be paid to those measures, which might effectually secure for ever to the crown of France, so rich an acquisition.


Anne was highly agreeable in her person, notwithstanding a degree of lameness in one of her feet. She was still in the bloom of youth, and had not only been beloved by the present king, when duke of Orleans, during the lifetime of her father, Francis the second; but, as it was commonly supposed, had not been insensible to, or unaffected by his passion. These conjoined motives of the sovereign, and of the man, induced Louis to apply to Alexander the sixth, who filled the chair of St. Peter, for a dissolution of his marriage. The Pope, whom his political interests rendered subservient to the king's wishes, immediately appointed commissioners, and dispatched his son, the famous Cæsar Borgia, into France, to decide on the affair. They pronounced the union  
void



void and illegal, as having been effected by force; and the king hastening to Nantes, at which city Anne resided, as Duchess of Bretagne, espoused her solemnly, and conducted her to the castle of Blois, where he commonly held his court\*. Jane, submissive

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\* Anne of Bretagne had not only retired into her own hereditary dominions, after the decease of Charles the eighth; but had moreover given no small uneasiness to the court of France, by her conduct. She affected to perform every act of sovereignty in her duchy. She ordered money to be struck with her impression; she published several very important edicts, accorded letters of nobility, and conferred favours. Repairing afterwards to the city of Rennes, she there assembled the states of Bretagne. It appeared therefore as if she meant to annul the clauses of her marriage contract with the late king, which incorporated Bretagne with the kingdom. In these circumstances, no alternative could be found which was so wise, and at the same time so natural, as the accomplishment of her marriage with Louis the twelfth, to prevent the loss of that valuable province. Anne yielded without difficulty to the propositions which were made her by the new king: but, with that anxious solicitude for the freedom of her Breton subjects, which always characterized her; in order to secure, not only the immunities and privileges, but, if possible, the entire independence and emancipation of her native duchy;

1499.  sive in her disgrace, and humble from a consciousness of her personal imperfections, scarcely attempted any opposition to the sentence which deprived her of a crown: but, retiring to the city of Bourges, devoted her remaining days to piety; and having founded an order of monastic seclusion, took the veil in a nunnery which she had herself erected\*.

This

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duchy; she expressly stipulated in the articles of marriage with Louis the twelfth, that if she should have two sons by him, the youngest should be acknowledged sovereign duke of Bretagne, with all the prerogatives of the ancient princes. This clause, so injurious to France, was happily rendered of no effect, by her not producing any son; and by the marriage of her eldest daughter Claude, to Francis, Count d'Angoulesme, who afterwards ascended the throne.

\* It cannot be doubted that the malignant intention of Louis the eleventh, when he married his daughter, the princess Jane, to Louis, duke of Orleans, was to extinguish that branch of the royal family, which he always detested. He had caused the death of the preceding duke, Charles, by his reproaches and ill usage. Whatever doubts may arise as to the consummation of the marriage, there can be no question of the incapacity of Jane to produce children; and every motive of policy dictated to annul such an alliance, in favor of the king's marriage with Anne of Bretagne.—The repudiated

This interesting affair being happily terminated, the king, resuming the plans of his predecessor Charles the eighth, directed his whole attention towards Italy, and principally to the Milanese. His claim to that duchy was incontrovertible, in right of Valentina of Milan, his grandmother; and this title was rendered, if possible, more legitimate, by the crimes and usurpation of Ludovico Sforza. After having concluded an alliance with the Venetians, his forces entered Piedmont; and meeting scarcely any resistance, made a rapid conquest of the whole

1499.

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ated princess, unlike Catherine of Arragon, the wife of Henry the eighth, who never could be induced to admit the validity of her divorce; submitted cheerfully to the papal sentence; and the king, pleased with Jane's acquiescence in his pleasure, granted her an establishment the most liberal and magnificent. She enjoyed for her life, the duchy of Berry, together with several other domains, and a pension of twelve thousand crowns a year. Jane founded at Bourges, the order of nuns of the Annunciation. Devoting herself wholly to the austerities of a cloister, she at length renounced the title of Duchess of Berry, and died in the nunnery which she had endowed, on the 5th of February, 1505.

1499. duchy, only the castle of Milan holding out for a few days. Louis, on receiving intelligence of this success, hastened in person

Oct. across the Alps; made a public entry into the capital of his new dominions, habited in the ducal robes; and remained there near three months, occupied with the regulations necessary for securing his conquest.

1500. Sforza, who, unable either to avert the storm, or to contend with so powerful an enemy, had early retired into Germany, waited only the favorable moment for his return. At his approach, almost every city of the duchy opened to him its gates, and he was received again into Milan, from whence he had so recently fled. But, this transient gleam of success was quickly followed by a reverse of fortune. The Swiss troops whom he entertained in his service, with a perfidy which even Sforza's character could not justify, delivered him up to the French general, disguised as a common soldier, under which concealment he had hoped to effect his escape. He was conducted to Lyons, where Louis then resided; but Sforza's repeated and flagitious enormities had steeled his mind against

against every impression of commiseration, or of pardon; and without deigning even to admit him to his presence, the king removed him immediately to the castle of Loches in Touraine. At first his confinement was very rigorous, and it has been pretended that he was shut up in an iron cage: during the latter years of his life, this severity was however mitigated; he received permission to hunt, and some recreations were allowed him; but he never recovered either his dominions, or his freedom\*.

The

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\* Ludovico Sforza, so famous in the wars of Italy, was second son to Francisco Sforza, who raised himself and his descendants to the dignity of dukes of Milan, after the extinction of the family of Visconti. Ludovico was suspected and accused by the voice of all Italy, of having poisoned his nephew John Galeazzo, the reigning duke: on whose death he usurped the duchy, tho' John Galeazzo left an infant son. The Emperor Maximilian the first, who after the death of Mary of Burgundy, and the failure of his marriage with Anne of Bretagne, married Blanche Sforza, niece to Ludovico, gave that prince the investiture of the Milanese. Ludovico, after having invited Charles the eighth into Italy, abandoned him, and even acceded to the league formed by the great powers of Europe,

1500.  


The complete reduction of the Milanese, which followed Sforza's captivity; and the

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to prevent his return into France. Louis de la Tremouille, who commanded the French forces, seized Ludovico's person near Novarra, when the Swiss basely betrayed him. He is described by the French historians as a monster, stained with parricide, and guilty of the most flagitious excesses. It may, however, be questioned if this portrait is a just one in all respects. Guicciardini paints him in very different colours. He says, that "Ludovico possessed as much capacity and eloquence, as any prince of his time; that he was even soft and beneficent in his disposition." He confesses, that with these good qualities, he was at the same time, "vain, restless, ambitious, regardless of his promise, and impatient of hearing others commended in his presence." These are surely, however, not the characteristics of a prince abandoned to every crime. With Ludovico Sforza, was seized his brother, the Cardinal Ascanio. This latter prince, as soon as he heard the catastrophe of Ludovico, abandoned the city of Milan, and fled to Venice; but the senate, on Louis's demanding him, gave up the Cardinal. He was confined at Bourges. Ludovico Sforza died in 1510, at Loches. It may perhaps, not without some reason, be thought, that notwithstanding the crimes imputed to him by the French writers, his punishment was disproportionate to his fault. Even if it be admitted that he poisoned his nephew Galeazzo; yet Louis the twelfth's right to punish him for that act, is still difficult to comprehend.

terror

terror which Louis's arms spread thro' all 1500.  
Italy, rendered his conquest of Naples almost  
certain: but his weakness or imprudence, in  
admitting Ferdinand the Catholic, king of  
Arragon, to divide with him the country  
which he might have entirely appropriated to  
himself, was in the event subversive of all his  
acquisitions. Previous to the attack, a con-  
vention was made between the two sovereigns,  
by which the city of Naples and the northern  
half of the kingdom was assigned to France:  
Ferdinand received for his portion, the pro-  
vinces of Apulia and Calabria. Frederic, the  
reigning king, would unquestionably have made  
a more able defence than his predecessors had  
done: but, being betrayed by Ferdinand the  
Catholic, who should have been his protector;  
finding himself reduced from royalty, to the  
condition of an individual; and abandoned  
by all his subjects or adherents, he took the  
resolution to throw himself on Louis's cle-  
mency and bounty. For this purpose, he de- 1501.  
manded a safe conduct into France, which was  
granted him; and the king, with that genero-  
sity which eminently characterized his conduct  
thro' life, afforded him an honorable asylum,  
together

1501. together with an annual allowance of thirty thousand crowns, which was continued to him even after the expulsion of the French from Naples\*.

Mean-

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\* Frederic was crowned by Cesar Borgia, then a Cardinal, and son to Alexander the sixth. The ceremony of his coronation was performed with great magnificence, in the cathedral church of Capua, on the 10th of August, 1497; the city of Naples being at that time desolated by the plague. His accession to the throne was universally grateful to the nobility and people, because it was feared that his predecessor Ferdinand the second intended, as soon as he was firmly settled in his dominions, to pursue and punish with rigor all those who had shewn any attachment to the interest of France. Ferdinand the Catholic betrayed and ruined this unfortunate prince, whom he was bound by the ties of honor and consanguinity to have protected. While he affected to aid Frederic in re-conquering his dominions, he formed with Louis the twelfth that treaty, by which they were to divide the kingdom of Naples. Gonsalvo de Cordova was the instrument of Ferdinand's perfidy and duplicity. Frederic made a very able disposition of his forces, and took post at San Germano, a pass which commanded the entry into the kingdom; but, when he discovered the treachery of Ferdinand and Gonsalvo, he retreated before d'Aubigné, the French general, first to Aversa, and afterwards to Naples.

Capua



Meanwhile Ferdinand was not less diligent in securing his destined share of the Neapolitan 1501.

Capua was taken by storm, on the 25th of July, 1501, and abandoned to pillage. The French, according to Guicciardini and Giannonè, committed on this occasion, the most flagitious acts of rapine, lust, and enormity. When d'Aubigné approached the city of Naples, it surrendered; and Frederic retired into the fortress of the "Castel Nuovo," where he capitulated in a few days. By the conditions of the surrender, all the part of the kingdom, allotted to Louis the twelfth, was immediately given up to him, except the island of Ischia, which Frederic was to retain for six months. His personal liberty was granted him, and several other favorable articles respecting his children and adherents.

Giannonè has drawn a melancholy and affecting picture of the fallen fortunes, and lamentable situation, of Frederic and his family, on the isle of Ischia. Gonsalvo de Cordova, in the early part of the revolution, had sent six gallies to Naples, to convey the two queens, the sister and the niece of his sovereign, Ferdinand the Catholic, into Sicily. "But, on the rock of Ischia, remained," says Giannonè, "the wretched Frederic; more unhappy from his children's misfortunes, than from his own. With him were his younger sons, and his two sisters; Beatrice, widow of Mathias Corvinus, king of Hungary, and Isabella, widow of John Galeazzo Sforza, duke of Milan."

In

1501. litan territories. Gonsalvo de Cordova, the celebrated general, whom history has dignified with the title of "the Great Captain," made an easy conquest of the two provinces allotted to his sovereign. Tarento only made any resistance. Ferdinand, the heir to the Neapolitan crown, eldest son of Frederic, was shut up in the place. His father supposing it impregnable, had sent him to this fortress, under the care of two nobles attached to his interests. They apprehending every thing lost, and reposing on the solemn promises of Gonsalvo, who swore on the sacra-

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In this desperate condition, Frederic, detesting the unnatural perfidy of Ferdinand, far more than the open enmity of Louis, determined to throw himself upon the lenity and generosity of the latter prince. Having therefore demanded and obtained a safe conduct, he embarked for France with five galleys; leaving his family, and the island of Ischia, under the protection of the Marquis des Guasto. He met with a very different treatment from that of Ludovico Sforza. Louis assigned him the duchy of Anjou, and a revenue which amounted to thirty thousand ducats a year.—Meanwhile Gonsalvo de Cordova reduced to the subjection of Ferdinand, all Apulia and Calabria, except Manfredonia and Tarento. Manfredonia soon surrendered; and Tarento being likewise invested, capitulated on terms.

ments

ments to leave the young prince his perfect liberty, capitulated, and surrendered the place. But, the perfidious Spaniard, who sported with oaths, and disregarded the most binding compacts, not only detained young Ferdinand prisoner; but, sent him to the king of Arragon, who, tho' he treated him with distinction, never would release him\*.

Scarcely

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\* The Count de Potenza, and Lionardo, a knight of Rhodes, to whom the young duke of Calabria, Ferdinand, as yet a boy, was entrusted by his father, capitulated to surrender Tarento in four months, if they were not succoured in that space of time. Gonsalvo swore upon a consecrated host, to leave the prince his entire liberty; and Frederic had given them private instructions, when it was no longer possible to resist the enemy, to rejoin him with his son, in France. "But neither," says Giannonè, "could the fear of God, nor the opinions of Mankind, prevail on the perfidious Gonsalvo." He sent the young prince instantly into Spain, to his master, closely guarded; who received him with external demonstrations of kindness, but detained him in an honorable imprisonment. Giannonè has informed us of the adventures and subsequent fortunes of this prince, the last survivor of the Neapolitan kings.—During Ferdinand the Catholic's life and reign, he was strictly guarded; and the king  
of

1502. Scarcely was the kingdom of Naples reduced under its new masters, when dissensions arose between the two sovereigns, on the subject of a small tract of country, claimed by both. The Spaniards first infringed the peace, by acts of open hostility; but the king of France having commanded his troops to repel force by force, his general, the duke

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of Arragon gave him in marriage a noble Spanish lady, Mencía de Mendoza, knowing her to be incapable of bearing children.—On the accession of Charles the fifth to the crown of Spain, Ferdinand refused to put himself at the head of the famous revolt against that monarch, which took place in 1522. Charles, in gratitude for this signal act of duty and loyalty, treated him with the warmest demonstrations of affection, and kept him constantly in his court. Mencía de Mendoza his wife dying, the emperor gave him in second marriage, Germana de Foix, queen dowager of Spain, and widow of Ferdinand the Catholic. Guicciardini says, that Charles knew the queen to be equally incapable of having issue, as his preceding wife; and that his knowledge of the sterility of Germana de Foix, was a principal motive with him to give her hand to Ferdinand. This prince lived in the court of Spain till the year 1550, when he expired; and with him became extinct the Arragonese line of Neapolitan kings.

of

of Nemours, took the field. That com- 1502.  
 mander pushed his advantages over the Spa-  
 niards to such a length, that Gonsalvo was  
 reduced to retire into the city of Barletta,  
 where the want of ammunition and money  
 had nearly compelled him to surrender. At  
 this critical juncture, when Louis was on the  
 point of dispossessing Ferdinand of all his divi-  
 sion of the kingdom, and success had uniformly  
 attended on the French arms; the archduke  
 Philip, son of the emperor Maximilian, who  
 had married Joanna, the daughter of Ferdi-  
 nand and Isabella, being on his return from  
 Spain into his hereditary dominions of the Low  
 Countries, passed thro' France. Philip had  
 an interview with the king at Lyons; and as 1503.  
 he was invested with full powers by his fa-  
 ther-in-law, to negotiate a peace, he con-  
 cluded a treaty with Louis in the name of  
 Ferdinand. By the conditions of it, the two  
 kings were bound to an immediate cessation  
 of arms; the provinces originally ceded to  
 each, were confirmed; and it was agreed that  
 the districts in dispute, should be sequestered  
 into the hands of the archduke.

In the conduct of the two princes after this  
 event,

1503.



event, we trace in the strongest manner, their opposite genius and character. The ambassadors of Ferdinand who attended Philip thro' France, having sworn to the execution of the agreement, under pain of excommunication, if violated or infringed; the heralds announced it to the respective commanders in Naples. The duke of Nemours, who knew the uprightness and integrity of Louis, did not hesitate a moment in offering to yield obedience, by withdrawing his forces. But, Gonsalvo, accustomed himself to the commission of crimes, and reposing with full security on the treacherous policy of Ferdinand, refused to act in compliance with the orders, and demanded an express command from his master for that purpose. Having received an expected reinforcement of Germans, which gave him the superiority, he in his turn attacked the French, routed them in two actions, killed the duke of Nemours, and not only made himself master of the city of Naples, but totally subdued the whole kingdom, only Gaieta remaining to France.

May.

The archduke Philip was in Savoy, when he received the news of so notorious a breach  
of

of that public faith, for which he had pledged 1503.  
 his own honor, in the late treaty. Indignant  
 at a conduct which marked its author with in-  
 delible infamy, and incapable of descending to  
 any participation in it, Philip returned in-  
 stantly into France, to put himself into Louis's  
 power; while he dispatched messengers to re-  
 monstrate with his father-in-law, on his trea-  
 cherous connivance at Gonsalvo's misconduct,  
 and demanded the restitution of all the coun-  
 try which he had conquered. Ferdinand,  
 with his usual duplicity, at one time disowned  
 his ambassadors, and at another, his general;  
 offered to restore the kingdom to the captive  
 Frederic, but secretly sent directions to push  
 the war in Naples, to the absolute extermi-  
 nation of the French\*.

Louis,

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\* The unfortunate Frederic long entertained hopes of  
 being restored to the crown of Naples, by common con-  
 sent of the two kings, Ferdinand and Louis. Anne of  
 Bretagne, queen of France, touched with pity for his  
 situation, became suitor for him, and strongly urged  
 his cause with her husband. But, by the treaty which  
 was concluded at Blois, in September, 1504, between  
 the archduke Philip and Louis the twelfth, all further

1503. Louis, scorning these despicable subterfuges, ordered the ministers of the king of Arragen to quit his dominions: and while, disdaining to take an unworthy revenge for the injury done him by Ferdinand, he permitted the archduke, unmolested, to return into Flanders, tho' he might have detained him; he made that animated speech to Philip at his departure, justly commemorated by history. "If," said he, "your father-in-law  
 "has been guilty of perfidy, I will not re-  
 "semble him; and I am infinitely more  
 "happy in the loss of a kingdom, which I  
 "know how to re-conquer, than to have  
 "stained my honor, which I could never re-  
 "trieve."

Irritated by such perfidious treatment, Louis made new, tho' ineffectual efforts, to regain his lost dominions in Naples. Gonzalvo, the least scrupulous, but the ablest commander of his age, defeated all his at-

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prospect of his restoration ceased; as the first and most essential article of that treaty, was the marriage of Claude, eldest daughter of Louis, with Charles, son to Philip, and who afterwards became the emperor Charles the fifth.

tempts;



tempts; and retained by his superior military skill the possessions, which he had acquired by a breach of every principle of public faith. 1503.


The death of Alexander the sixth, and the August.  
 accession of Julius the second to the pontificate; events which were likewise unfavorable to the affairs of France; when added to the ill success, which from every quarter seemed to overwhelm the king, threw him into a violent fever, produced by anxiety and distress of mind. During the height of his distemper, as his death was apprehended to be imminent, the queen, who seems ever to have considered herself less as sovereign of France, than as Duchess of Bretagne, began to prepare for a retreat into her native dominions. With that intention, she caused a number of rich effects to be embarked in boats, upon the river Loire. But, the Marechal de Gié meeting them between the cities of Saumur and Nantes, gave 1504.  
 orders to stop their further progress; justly thinking it an act contrary to the interests of the state, that the queen should remove at pleasure, all her jewels and property out of the kingdom. Louis recovered; and Anne, enraged at what she deemed an act of the

1504.  most presumptuous insolence, as well as vindictive from natural temper, severely revenged on the unfortunate Marechal, his public spirited conduct. Not content with procuring by her influence, his exile from the court, and his removal from every post that he held; she carried her vengeance to the most unjustifiable and cruel excess, reduced him to extreme poverty, and compelled him to terminate his life in disgrace and indigence\*

Frederic,

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\* There is no action of Anne of Bretagne, which can less admit of apology or justification, than her persecution of the Marechal de Gié, who had only performed his duty to the state, in preventing the queen from carrying all her valuable effects out of the kingdom. Nor can Louis himself be exempt from censure and condemnation, for abandoning to the rage of an incensed and vindictive woman, so faithful and so old a servant, who had been personally dear to his two predecessors, and to himself. The Marechal was pursued with an indecent and unrelenting vengeance. He was arrested at Orleans, carried as a prisoner to Chartres, and from thence to Dreux. The trial was successively transferred to the parliament of Paris, and to that of Toulouse. The queen even descended so far below the dignity of her station, as to defray the expences of the prosecution.

Frederic, the unfortunate king of Naples, 1504.  
 died about this time at Tours, in a mild and   
 honorable captivity\*. His death was fol-  
 lowed

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secution, herself; which, in the year 1506, had already amounted to above thirty thousand livres. The parliament of Toulouse, to which tribunal it was transferred, as being considered the most severe of any in France, passed a sentence on him, equally inhuman and unmerited. He was long detained a prisoner in the castle of Dreux, exposed to the insults of those who had deposed against him. He did not survive his persecutress, but died in April, 1513, near nine months before the queen. Even Brantome, corrupt and unprincipled as he was, yet plainly discovers, even in his affected commendations of the vengeance of Anne of Bretagne, his real sentiments on her conduct.—The Marechal de Cié was of the illustrious family of Rohan.

\* Frederic, the last sovereign of that unfortunate race of the Arragonese kings of Naples, expired of a quartan ague, in the city of Tours, on the 9th September, 1504; having before his decease lost all hope of being reinstated in his dominions. He died in the fifty-second year of his age, having reigned near five years. Giannonè, who pathetically laments over the extinction of the Neapolitan monarchy, lavishes high encomiums on Frederic. “ Principe,” says he, “ co-  
 “ tanto saggio, et di molte lettere adorno, che a lui,  
 “ non men che a Ferdinando, suo padre, deve Napoli

1501. loved by that of the great queen of Castile,  
 Nov. Isabella: and her dominions devolving to the archduke Philip, in right of Joanna his wife, changed the whole scale and system of European politics\*. Ferdinand the Catholic, who

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“ il Ristoramento delle discipline, et delle buone lettere.”—The evil destiny of Frederic, seemed to pursue his unfortunate descendants. His queen Isabella brought him five children; three sons, and two daughters. The fate of the eldest, Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, prisoner in Spain, has been already mentioned. Isabella, having refused to put her two younger sons into the hands of Ferdinand the Catholic, whose perfidy she dreaded, was compelled by Louis the twelfth to quit his dominions. She retired to the city of Ferrara, where she died in 1533, having seen her two younger sons expire before her. Her daughters left no issue. On reading the melancholy destiny of this family, dethroned, exiled, and degraded; one cannot help being reminded of a similar series of calamities, with which, in a period nearer to our own time, the royal house of Stuart has been so singularly marked.


\* The death of Isabella, queen of Castile, was hastened, if not entirely caused, by the domestic calamities which took place in her family. The only son of Ferdinand and Isabella, Don John, a prince of high expectations, who was married on the fourth of April, 1497, to Margaret of Austria, daughter of the emperor

who, after several vain and fruitless efforts to retain the regency of Castile, to the exclusion

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peror Maximilian, and Mary of Burgundy; died at Salamanca, on the 4th of October of the same year. His widow, the princess of the Asturias, miscarried soon afterwards of a daughter, by which misfortune all hopes of perpetuating the line were at an end.

In the following year, 1498, Isabella, queen of Portugal, wife to the great Emanuel, and eldest daughter of Isabella of Castile, expired at Saragossa; only an hour after having brought into the world a son, on the 23d of August. The young prince, named Don Michael, heir to the kingdoms of Castile and Portugal, followed his mother on the 20th of July, 1500.—By these four successive deaths, Joanna, wife to the archduke Philip, and her children, became heirs to the Spanish monarchy. But, the unhappy princess Joanna suffered so severely in child-bed, when she brought into the world her second son, Ferdinand, in 1503, as to impair her understanding; and this accident, added to her passionate fondness for Philip, who treated her with indifference and neglect, at length totally deprived her of all capacity to conduct affairs. Such a concurrence of domestic losses and misfortunes, gradually conducted Isabella to the grave. She fell into a profound melancholy, from the continual recollection of them; and from her apprehension of the fatal consequences, which would probably result on her decease, in the disordered state of the Infanta Joanna's intellects,

1504.  sion of Philip, was again reduced to his original kingdom of Arragon, reconciled himself with the king of France. Tho' already advanced in life, he contracted a second marriage with Louis's niece, the princess Germana de Foix, in hopes of having issue by her, which might exclude his own grandchildren from the possession of the two thrones of Arragon and Castile. In this expectation he was nevertheless disappointed, and the vast succession of the Spanish monarchy devolved eventually,

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aggravated by the contending interests of her son-in-law Philip, and Ferdinand, her husband. Under the pressure of these uneasy reflections, she expired on the 26th of November, 1504, at Medina del Campo, universally bewailed and lamented. By her will, she called her daughter Joanna, and her grandson Charles, to the succession of Castile; but she appointed her husband Ferdinand regent, to the exclusion of Philip the archduke, till her grandson should attain the age of twenty. She forbid any public mourning for her death, and directed her body to be buried at Granada, the capital of the kingdom which she had recovered from the Moors. In compliance with these injunctions, as soon as a scaffold could be erected in the square of Medina del Campo, Ferdinand caused the Infanta Joanna to be proclaimed queen of Castile, with the accustomed solemnities,

on the archduke Charles, who likewise as- 1504.  
cended the imperial throne of Germany. ~~~~~

The character of Julius the second, who now filled the papal chair, tho' less fragitious than that of his predecessor, Alexander the sixth, was not less opposite to the genius and spirit of that holy religion, under which he occupied the highest place. Haughty, ambi- 1504  
tious, warlike, splendid, and enterprizing, na- &  
ture had designed him for the field, not for 1505.  
the church; and had formed him to shine in camps, rather than in conclaves. Intent on plans of aggrandizement, and extension of the papal dominions, which were wholly incompatible with the general tranquillity; he forgot the protection which Louis had extended to him when cardinal, under the pontificate of Alexander; and repaid with ingratitude, the asylum which he found in the generous treatment of that prince. Jealous of the king's retaining a portion of power in Italy, which might be eventually fatal to the numerous little potentates, among whom that beautiful country was then divided; he exerted all the faculties of his turbulent and restless mind, in exciting enemies to the French.

Unre-

1505. Unrestrained either by the sanctity of his pontifical character, or by his advanced period of life, he did not scruple to appear in arms, and even to lead on his troops in person.

1506. The sudden and unexpected death of the  
Sept. archduke Philip, which took place at this time, again restored to Ferdinand of Aragon the administration of Castile, which he had lost on the decease of his queen Isabella\*.


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\* The archduke Philip, previous to his death, had by his injudicious and weak administration, alienated the affections of his Castilian subjects. The government of Ferdinand was universally regretted. Towards the unfortunate Joanna his wife, Philip behaved with the most cruel and insulting contempt: not content with privately treating her in this unworthy manner, he endeavored to induce the nobility of Castile to deprive her even of the name of royalty, and to confine her as insane. But, the firmness of the duke of Benaventé, and of the admiral of Castile, prevented him from executing this intention.

He had at length driven the nobility and people by his violence, to the brink of insurrection and revolt, when his death relieved them from further oppressions. He had irritated the inquisition, alienated the civil magistrates, and permitted his Flemish favorites to dis-  
pose




As he was in Italy when this event happened, 1506.  
 occupied in regulating the affairs of his Nea- 

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pose of all the first offices in Castile, for money. In this critical juncture, Philip was seized with a fever which carried him off, occasioned by violent exercise after a full meal, and then drinking cold liquor. His disorder only lasted six days, and he expired on the 25th September, 1506, in the twenty-eighth year of his age. He was surnamed "Le Bel," from his uncommon personal beauty.

The unhappy Joanna, whose attachment to her husband was unbounded, notwithstanding his indifference or aversion to her; would not permit his body to be interred. She removed it, under pretence of conveying it to Granada, and wandered with the corpse thro' the country; travelling only by night, with torches, and frequently giving signs of lunacy and outrageous insanity.

When pressed and importuned by cardinal Ximenes, to assemble the states of Castile, she refused; only repeating continually, "The king my father will come, and settle all things." Yet, in her lucid intervals, she expressed the greatest jealousy of any infringement of her authority; and once even forbad the deputies of the states to invite her father Ferdinand, tho' at other times, she appeared anxiously impatient for his return. When Ferdinand arrived, she delegated the regency of Castile to him; and about two years afterwards retired, at his request, to the castle of Tordesillas, six leagues distant from Valladolid, where she passed the long remainder of her life.

1506.  politan dominions ; an interview was agreed on, between him and Louis the twelfth, which took place at the town of Savona in the Genoese territories. The apprehensions of Ferdinand, lest the king of France should oppose
1507. his designs on the regency of Castile, formed his concealed motive for agreeing to this interview. The two kings having again renewed their alliance, swore anew to the strict observance of the articles of peace. But Ferdinand, who thro'out his whole reign, recognized no principle of public or private action, except his own interests, infringed and violated every condition stipulated between them, on his return into Spain.
1508. The political elevation to which the republic of Venice had attained at this period of time ; her extensive territorial possessions in Italy ; her more important acquisitions in the Levant, which made her mistress of the trade to Arabia and India ; her numerous armies, and her fleets, which subjected to her controul every state in the vicinity of the Adriatic: these combined circumstances rendered her an object of equal envy, jealousy, and apprehension, Impelled by the desire of reducing to narrower

rower limits, so overgrown a power, the memorable league of Cambray, formed for the destruction of Venice, was concluded. Louis the twelfth, and Ferdinand the Catholic, forgetting their past subjects of animosity, joined in this impolitic alliance, of which they constituted the basis. The emperor Maximilian, and pope Julius the second, became parties to the league. We cannot help contemplating with astonishment, not unaccompanied with some degree of indignation, the union of the two greatest kings in Europe, the German emperor, and the pope, against a small, tho' a powerful and opulent republic. Louis was guilty of a still greater political error, in allying himself with his three inveterate and natural enemies, Ferdinand, Maximilian, and Julius, against the Venetians, his only sure and firm ally beyond the Alps. He did not even hesitate to command the troops in person. The battle of Ghiera-d'Adda, which was gained by Louis over Alviano, the Venetian general, reduced that state from the pinnacle of greatness, to the verge of ruin. If the emperor Maximilian had improved the circumstances of their defeat, with celerity, the city of Venice

1508.

1509.  
May.

1569. nice itself must have probably been swallowed up by this prodigious confederacy, and the republic would have been extinguished. His delays enabled the Venetians to avert the calamity ; but, without retrieving either their former lustre, or their preceding extent of territory : while Louis, who had been rather influenced by the narrow sentiments of private resentment, than by motives of enlarged policy, becoming a king of France, when he engaged in the league of Cambray ; had too much reason to repent the fault which he had committed, during the future part of his reign\*.

In

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\* Alviano made a very able and advantageous disposition of his forces, on the day of the celebrated action of Ghiera-d'Adda, and for a considerable time repulsed the enemy. But, being compelled by the Gascon infantry, to quit the strong ground which he had occupied among vineyards, where it was difficult to charge, or to force him ; his troops became unequal to resisting the impetuosity of the French attack. Yet, even in this situation, Alviano performed all the duties of a great and experienced commander. He fought desperately, and made many efforts to retrieve the day. The squadron of gentlemen who attended his person, defended themselves to the last, and refused the quarter which was offered them by the enemy.

Alviano,

In addition to the injurious consequences 1510.  
that resulted from Louis's victory at Ghiera-  
d'Adda, and his triumph over the Venetians,

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Alviano, who sought death, himself, without being able to find it, was at length thrown from his horse, and received a deep wound quite across his forehead. In this condition he would have been killed, if a French soldier had not discovered him, and persuaded his comrades to spare Alviano's life. He was conducted to the tent of Louis the twelfth, bloody, and so disfigured by his wound, which prevented him from seeing, as to be scarce recognizable. His behavior, under the circumstances of his defeat and captivity, would have done honor to the greatest hero. He expressed his deep sense of the calamity, which the republic, for whom he fought, had undergone: as well as the personal diminution of glory, which he suffered. But, he added, that his knowledge of the clemency and generosity of the prince, whose prisoner he then was; and his equal reliance on the protection of that republic, for whom he had combated and bled; left him nothing to dread, or to apprehend. Louis was sensible to his high merit; ordered him to be attended by the best surgeons in his army, and gave directions that he should be treated with every distinction due to his quality and station. The slaughter was considerable. Above eight thousand Venetians perished in this action, which had nearly proved fatal to the very existence of the commonwealth of Venice.

1510.  so contrary to his own true interests, and those of his people ; France underwent at this May. time, another national misfortune. The death of the Cardinal of Amboise, first minister of state, one of the most virtuous and disinterested statesmen of whom history makes mention, was in every sense a public loss. Equally a stranger to pride, and to avarice ; a Cardinal, with only one ecclesiastical benefice, and solely occupied by the interests of his sovereign, or of his country ; he was lamented by both, with every testimony of grateful affection\*.

The

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\* George d'Amboise was the friend and favorite of Louis the twelfth, when only duke of Orleans. During the captivity of that prince in the tower of Bourges, after the battle of St. Aubin du Cormier, under the reign of Charles the eighth ; he was indefatigable in his exertions to procure the duke his liberty, and at length succeeded. He was made bishop of Montauban in 1484, was afterwards raised to the archbishopric of Narbonne, and in 1498 he was translated to the archiepiscopal see of Rouen. Cæsar Borgia, son to pope Alexander the sixth, brought him a Cardinal's hat, on the accession of Louis the twelfth, who committed to him the principal administration of public affairs. To his capacity and advice, may in a great measure be ascribed the brilliant success, which attended the arms of France in the Milanese,


The unnatural alliance, denominated “the league of Cambray,” had been dissolved, almost as soon as it was formed, by the clashing interests, or separate views, of the contracting powers. Julius the second, consulting only the aggrandizement of the papacy, and the expulsion of the French from Italy, no longer even observed any measures with Louis: while the king, actuated by scruples of a timid superstition, forbade his generals to make incursions on the territories of the church; and spared the pontiff whom he might have crushed, from reverence to his office and character. Emboldened by such proofs of weakness in the French cabinet, the Pope

1510.




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Milanese, at the commencement of Louis's reign.—On the death of Alexander the sixth, he would have been raised to the Pontificate, if he had not been deceived by the Cardinal de la Rovere, to whom his interests were entrusted, and who placed the Tiara on his own head, by the name of Julius the second. The death of the Cardinal of Amboise took place at Lyons, during the residence of the court in that city. This event happened in the monastery of the Celestines, on the 25th of May, 1510. The king gave every demonstration of extreme sorrow and concern for his loss.

1510.  proceeded to the greatest lengths of ambition. Desirous of annexing the duchy of Ferrara to the patrimony of St. Peter, he ordered his general to lay siege to the city of Mirandola, in the midst of a most severe winter, and without even an equitable pretext to justify the attempt. The advances not being made with that rapidity which he expected, Julius repaired to the place in person; appeared in the trenches at seventy years of age, encouraged and exhorted his troops to mount to the attack; and on its surrender, caused him-
1511. self to be carried into the city in military triumph, thro' the breach effected in the ramparts.

Irritated by these reiterated acts of hostility, the king at length sent orders to his general, Chaumont, no longer to spare the Pope. The French commander in consequence pressed his Holiness so vigorously, as to oblige him to retire to Ravenna; and he would have compelled Julius to terms of immediate pacification, had he not himself been seized at this juncture with a mortal distemper, at Corregio in Lombardy. Struck with horror and remorse, at the supposed  
crime




crime which he had committed, in bearing <sup>1511.</sup>  
arms against the holy father; and yielding on  
the approach of death, to the terrors of su-  
perstition, he sent to implore the pontiff's  
forgiveness and absolution. All the operations  
of war were suspended, and Julius had time  
to recover from his danger. The events of  
the campaign, which were not so favourable  
to him as the influence of religious fears had  
been, soon however reduced him to the most  
perilous situation. Conscious of the manner  
in which he had abused the pontifical charac-  
ter, he justly apprehended his degradation  
from the papal chair; while he beheld on the  
other hand Rome itself exposed to the army  
of the king, without any means of defence.  
Terrified at the punishment which impended,  
Julius was on the point of having recourse to  
Louis's generosity, and of opening a negoti-  
ation for the purpose. But, having received  
advice, that the king, prevailed on by the  
religious scruples and importunities of the  
queen, had prohibited his general from attack-  
ing the territories of the church; he resumed  
his accustomed haughtiness, laid aside all  
R 2 thoughts

1511. thoughts of peace, and prepared himself for new exertions in the field.

In the present century, when the minds of men, cultivated by learning, expanded by philosophy, and divested of superstitious prejudices, presume to view objects as they are, by the light of reason, we are naturally amazed at these proofs of weakness. We contemplate with wonder and indignation, an Alexander the sixth, or a Julius the second, revered amidst a thousand enormities; and exerting a despotic sway over the cabinets of princes, or the conduct of generals, by the sole terrors of their sacerdotal office, unaccompanied with any virtues, or even the external appearances of decorum and morality.

Notwithstanding his advanced age and ill success, Julius meditated fresh schemes of conquest. Unaffected by the consideration which Louis manifested towards him, that prince was the constant object of his animosity. In the hope of expelling the French from Italy, the pontiff entered into a new alliance against him, with Ferdinand of Arragon;

gon; and Venice acceded to the confederacy, 1511.  which was named by a mockery of religion, "The holy League." Having recommenced their military operations, the allies retook Brescia, and laid siege to Bologna: but their further progress was stopped by the appearance of Gaston de Foix. This young hero, who was nephew to the king, had scarcely attained his twenty-third year\*. Louis was tenderly

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\* Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, was son to John de Foix, Count d'Estampe, by Mary of Orleans, sister of Louis the twelfth. He displayed such incontestible proofs of military genius and ability, that the king conferred on him the government of Milan, and the command of the French forces in Italy, at a most critical period of the war. On the memorable day of the victory at Ravenna, he exerted all the qualities of an experienced and consummate general, if he had not thrown away his life at the conclusion of the battle, like a young soldier. The two armies were nearly equal in number, consisting each of about twenty thousand men. The Cardinal Legate, John de Medicis, who succeeded to the Pontificate a year afterwards, by the name of Leo the tenth; the Marquis of Pescara, and Don John de Cardonna, were among the prisoners. But, all these great advantages were lost to France, by the death of Gaston. His sister, Germana

1511. tenderly attached to him, and discerning all the ardor of military genius in him, entrusted to his command the army in Italy, at that
1512. early period of life. His first actions not only justified the choice which the king had made, but acquired him a reputation superior to all the commanders of his age. During the prosecution of the siege of Bologna, Gaston entered the city under cover of a prodigious fall of snow, unperceived by the assailants; who instantly breaking up their camp, retired from before the place. He lost not a moment in pushing his advantage; defeated Baglioni, the Venetian general, who opposed his march towards Brescia; and attacking their entrenchments with only six thousand chosen soldiers, put eight thousand of the enemy to the sword, and totally drove them from the surrounding country.

April 11. These rapid advantages were soon followed by the great battle of Ravenna. Gaston there completely routed the army of the confederates; but, like Gustavus

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de Foix, of whom mention has already been frequently made, was married to Ferdinand, king of Arragon. She died at Valentia in Spain, in the year 1558.


Adol-

Adolphus, he expired in the moment of victory. His own ardor and impetuosity were the principal causes of his death. Desirous to render the success of the day complete, he rashly pursued, with a small troop, a body of four thousand veteran Spaniards, who retreated in good order. They surrounded him; and he was killed, after having fought with the most heroic courage, pierced with twenty-two wounds. His contemporaries, who justly regarded him as a prodigy, surnamed him "the thunder-bolt of Italy," from the violence of his movement, the rapidity of his progress, and the suddenness of his extinction\*.

Louis

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\* Brantome enumerates several minute circumstances, preceding and accompanying his death. The action was already gained, when the celebrated Chevalier Bayard, seeing the young prince covered with the blood and brains of a soldier, who had been killed close to him, rode up, and demanded if he was wounded? "No," replied Gaston, "but I have wounded many of the enemy." Bayard implored him on no consideration to quit the main body of the army; and to prevent his troops from pillaging, while he himself pursued the flying squadrons. This whole-

1512.  Louis was greatly affected at his nephew's untimely fate; and subsequent events suffi-

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some and wise advice, was unfortunately overborne by the young hero's martial ardor. A Gascon runaway having informed him, that a body of Spaniards not only maintained their ground, but had repulsed some of his own forces, he instantly charged them in person; crying out, "Who loves me, follows me."—This body of veterans, who were advantageously posted near a piece of water, first discharged their Harquebusses; and then lowering their pikes, received firmly the attack. Gaston's horse was first killed, and he himself was overpowered by numbers. Only about twenty gentlemen accompanied him on this desperate service, among whom was Lautrec, afterwards so renowned and so unfortunate under Francis the first, in the wars of Italy. He was likewise of the house of Foix, and nearly allied by blood to Gaston, whom he defended with the most heroic bravery; crying out, when no longer able to ward off the blows aimed at him, "Spare the general, brother to your queen Germana, and you shall have immense ransom!"—No exclamations nor entreaties could however save the prince from their fury: Lautrec himself fell by his side, covered with wounds, and was left upon the plain as dead. Bayard was almost driven to madness, when on his return, he learned his general's fate; and into so great a consternation were the French thrown by this unexpected disaster, that had the enemy rallied, and returned to the charge, they would infallibly have retrieved the day, and have remained masters of the field.

ciently

ciently proved, how much the most important 1512.  
affairs of war may depend on the life of a   
single man. Morechal Trivulzio succeeded  
to the command on Gaston's death, but the  
spirit which diffused life and vigor, was extinct;  
while dissensions arose in the victorious army,  
no longer conducted by a chief of superior  
abilities. Julius, who had been ready to im-  
plore the clemency of the king, was encour-  
aged to resist, by Ferdinand and the Vene-  
tians. A series of disasters succeeding each  
other, ruined the French affairs; and in-  
stead of giving law to all Italy, as might have  
been expected, they were totally expelled  
from every part of that country.

The Switzers breaking in upon the Mila-  
nese, almost destitute of defence, re-conquered  
it, after it had been subject to France for  
twelve years. By an act of national atone-  
ment for their desertion and surrender of the  
unfortunate Ludovico Sforza, whom they had  
formerly delivered up to Louis; they con-  
ducted with them, and replaced in the duchy  
of Milan, his eldest son, Maximilian, as so-  
vereign. Genoa, which had been subjected  
to the French arms, revolting, elected a Doge,  
and

1512. and declared itself an independent state. Henry the eighth, king of England, who by his father's death had recently ascended the throne; excited by the artifices of Ferdinand, whose daughter, Catherine of Arragon, he had married, declared war against France: while the emperor Maximilian, deserting all his previous engagements, joined the allies, and even formed a new treaty with the Pope.

The king of Arragon improving the opportunity, which this union of so many powers against Louis afforded him, converted it with equal injustice and ability, to the purposes of his personal ambition. The little kingdom of Navarre, by its position, extending to the frontiers of Ferdinand's hereditary states, and being separated from those of the king of France, by the Pyrenean mountains, lay open to attack. Without other motives, he suddenly commenced hostilities against the sovereign of that contracted territory, John d'Albret, and soon reduced his dominions to subjection. A papal Bull, which Julius issued subsequent to the conquest; formed the only pretext employed by Ferdinand, to justify this outrage committed on a prince unarmed, who had  
neither



neither rendered himself an object of his resentment, nor of his displeasure. The king of France, conscious of the importance of the acquisition, made every possible effort to replace John d'Albret on the throne; and even sent an army into Navarre, for the purpose, but without success. Engaged with so many enemies, who attempted to overpower him from all quarters, he was reduced to act on the defensive, instead of carrying his arms beyond the Alps or the Pyrenees. Navarre remained inseparably annexed to the Spanish monarchy; the little principality of Beärn alone continuing subject to the family of Albret.

1512.



The death of Julius the second at this time, seemed nevertheless, to promise Louis better fortune in Italy. Leo the tenth, who succeeded Julius, and who is so justly celebrated in history as the patron of every liberal science, opened his short, but memorable Pontificate. New, tho' ineffectual efforts, were made by Louis against the Milanese, in conjunction with the Venetians, who had again formed an alliance with France. Maximilian Sforza was even driven to the last extremities, by the French forces; and only the cities of Como and Novarra persisted

1513.  
Feb.

1513. to hold out against the invaders: but all these transitory advantages were lost, in less time than they had been acquired. The reign of Louis the twelfth presents a perpetual chain of victories, followed by as great reverses, in Italy. After the loss of an engagement, in which all the Gascon Infantry was cut to pieces, scarcely could the Marechal de la Tremouille conduct the Cavalry in safety back to Savoy.

Meanwhile, Henry the eighth and Maximilian uniting against Louis, joined their forces to attack Picardy; and the Switzers, elate with the advantages which they had gained, entering Burgundy, laid siege to Dijon, the capital, with two-and-twenty thousand men. By means of a treaty, humiliating, tho' unfortunately necessary to France, which the Marechal de la Tremouille concluded with the Switzers, these formidable enemies were induced to return into their own country. But, the king of England and the emperor having gained the battle of Guinegate, known in our history by the name of "the battle of the spurs;" took the city of Tournay, and spread terror thro' all the neighbouring provinces.

vinces. Louis, deeply affected by such a con- 1513.  
 currence of calamities, nevertheless supported  
 with magnanimity the intelligence. Wearied  
 however at length by the supplications of the  
 queen, and hoping that Leo the tenth might  
 be induced to aid his arms, which he had  
 hitherto opposed; the king dispatched two  
 prelates, to make his submission to the see of  
 Rome, and to testify his contrition and peni-  
 tence for his past offences. This conduct, so  
 destitute of vigor, which may be entirely  
 attributed to the influence of Anne of Bre-  
 tagne over his mind, was the last act of her  
 life. She died at the castle of Blois, of a 1514.  
 distemper caused by the improper treatment Jan.  
 which she had received in her last lying-in,  
 at thirty-seven years of age.

The French historians, perhaps influenced by  
 the consideration of the important province,  
 which she brought as an accession to the king-  
 dom at her marriage, have bestowed the highest  
 panegyrics on this princess. Her piety, chas-  
 tity, liberality, and attachment to the two suc-  
 cessive kings her husbands, no less than her  
 capacity and spirit, have all formed the sub-  
 jects of their warmest commendation. Imag-  
 inary

1514. ginary qualities seem to have been added, in order to complete the picture. Her conduct, if considered as a queen of France, does not, however, appear to justify these extravagant encomiums. Force and necessity alone, it is evident, reduced her to give her hand to Charles the eighth; nor, tho' it must be admitted that she was always blameless as a wife, did she ever manifest the affection due from a sovereign, to the people, or to the country, over which she reigned. On the contrary, ever cherishing the most avowed predilection for the house of Austria, she endeavored by every exertion of address or of persuasion, to induce the king to bestow his eldest daughter, the princess Claude, on the young Archduke in marriage, who afterwards became the emperor Charles the fifth. Disappointed in this attempt, by Louis's better principles, and by his paternal regard to France, she attempted to transfer the succession of Bretagne to her youngest daughter Renée, and to marry her to the same prince. 'Tho' both these schemes, so replete with pernicious consequences, were rendered abortive; she still maintained sufficient influence over  
the

mind of Louis, to retard, and even totally to prevent during her own life, the consummation of the princess Claude's nuptials with Francis, Count d'Angoulesme ; to whom, as the presumptive heir of the French crown, the united voice of the nation had destined her. 1514.

After the consideration of these facts and circumstances, whatever sentiments we may entertain of this princess, in her quality of duchess of Bretagne ; we must be compelled to admit, that as queen of France, her death, which only preceded that of Louis by a single year, was a fortunate event for the state, in every point of view. Her superstitious veneration for popes and priests, was moreover highly detrimental to the king's affairs, whose successes were always checked and impeded by her importunate entreaties in their favor. Unforgiving and vindictive, she never pardoned an injury, nor set any limits to her resentment. Notwithstanding these incontestible defects, she possessed many great, or amiable qualities, that deservedly endeared her to the king, who was during some time  
incon-

1514. inconsolable for her loss\*. He remained  
several days shut up in his apartment, entirely

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\* Anne of Bretagne first introduced into the court of the queens of France, a lustre to which they had always before been strangers. She retained about her person, a number of young women of quality, French and Bretons, whom she employed in occupations becoming their rank and sex; whose manners she formed, not more by her precepts, than by her example. She was accustomed to embroider, in the midst of these ladies; and her court resembled a well-regulated community. As duchess of Bretagne, she had all the external Insignia of sovereignty, separate from the king her husband. She had even her body guards, and she formed a band of a hundred gentlemen, all natives of Bretagne, who attended her at mass, and wherever she moved. She was exceedingly attached to this corps of her own peculiar subjects.—The king was sensible that he yielded too much to her prejudices and importunities, on many occasions; but her conjugal fidelity, liberality, and private virtues, rendered her so dear to him, that he was not able to refuse a compliance with her requests. Louis was more tenacious of her dignity, and more sensible to any circumstance which seemed to wound it, than he was to his own. When the scholars of the university of Paris exposed his court, and even himself to ridicule, in their farces, he

tirely devoted to grief; ordered all the comedians and musicians to quit the court; and refused audience to every minister or ambassador, who did not appear before him in deep mourning. Yielding however to motives of public benefit, which ever formed the rule of his actions, he soon after bestowed the princess Claude in marriage on the Count d'Angoulesme; and the nuptials were solemnized at the castle of St. Germain-en-Laye\*.

1514.

May.

The

he said, that “ he willingly and cheerfully forgave them; but, that he warned them not to make the queen the object of their satire, as if they presumed to do so, he would infallibly order them all to be hanged.” Anne of Bretagne was seized with the distemper of which she died, on the 2d of January, 1514, and expired on the 9th of that month.

\* The marriage of Francis with the princess Claude, was celebrated above four months after the death of the queen. The court did not quit their mourning on this occasion; the prince and princess themselves were dressed in black, on the day of their nuptials, which was the 18th of May, 1514. Several motives, not totally void of weight when privately considered, rendered Anne of Bretagne peculiarly averse to this union. —She always flattered herself with hopes of having

1514. The death of Anne of Bretagne, together with Francis's marriage, gave a new face to affairs, and a new aspect to the court. Louisa of Savoy, mother to the presumptive heir of the crown, no longer repressed by the superior influence of the queen, began to display her shining, but dangerous qualities. Louis, on the other hand, tender of his people, and frugal of the revenues, viewed with a melancholy foresight, the profusion and expensive munificence, which distinguished the Count d'Angoulesme's character. Anticipating the evils which such inclinations, if indulged,

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male issue by the king. She detested Louisa of Savoy, Francis's mother, whose unsubmitting spirit never bent beneath her. Above all, she feared and foresaw her daughter's infelicity with Francis. Louis the twelfth was of an opposite opinion; and when importuned by the queen, not to give the princess's hand to the Count d'Angoulesme, on account of his irregularities; he replied, "*Vous vous trompez : elle n'est pas belle ; mais sa vertu touchera le Comte, et il ne pourra s'em-  
pecher de lui rendre justice.*" These apprehensions of Anne, were however too much verified in the result. Claude was by no means beautiful, and her husband, amorous and inconstant, never loved her; and tho' he treated her with a degree of respect, himself, he either could not, or did not exact the same behaviour from his mother.

would




would probably entail upon the kingdom, he used frequently to exclaim, “ This great boy <sup>1514.</sup> “ will ruin all my plans ! ” It is even to be suspected, that his apprehensions on this subject, formed one of the great inducements to his contracting a third marriage ; tho’ the desire of effecting a close union and alliance with the king of England, served for the ostensible pretext.

Henry the eighth had at that time a sister, the princess Mary, of uncommon personal beauty, and in the first bloom of youth. The duke de Longueville, who had been taken prisoner by the English, at the battle of Guinegate ; being sent over to negotiate a treaty of peace between the two nations, first opened the overtures for this marriage, which were immediately accepted. The princess was conducted into France ; received at Boulogne by a splendid train, at the head of which was the Count Oct. d’Angoulesme ; and married at Abbeville to the king\*. Mary, who possessed a heart susceptible

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\* Mary, youngest daughter of Henry the seventh, and of Elizabeth of York, was born in 1499. She was married to Louis the twelfth at Abbeville, on the

1514.  ceptible of the impressions of tenderness and passion, had already engaged her affections to Charles Brandon, an English nobleman nearly of her own age, distinguished by the graces of his person and address, whom Henry had created duke of Suffolk, and on whom he had even previously intended to bestow his sister's hand. Under these circumstances, it cannot be supposed that

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9th of October, 1514, and was inaugurated at St. Denis, on the 5th of the ensuing November. The king himself came as far as Abbeville to meet her, accompanied by fifteen hundred gentlemen. Feasts and tournaments succeeded to the nuptials, which were celebrated with great magnificence. It is remarkable, that from William the Norman, down to his present majesty's reign, in the lapse of seven, or eight centuries, Mary is the only English princess who has been married to a king of France. Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, attended the young queen to Paris, and even resided in that court during Louis's life, with the title of ambassador from the king of England. He married Mary privately, on the 31st March, 1515, scarcely three months after the death of the king; and these second nuptials were again solemnized with great pomp by Henry the eighth, at Greenwich, on the 15th of May following. Mary was called the queen duchess. She died in 1534.


Louis,

Louis, a valetudinarian sinking into years, 1514.  broken by the fatigues of war and state, tormented with the gout, and whose thoughts were continually occupied with the recollection of his late queen, could be a very acceptable husband. Francis, Count d'Angoulesme, amorous and gallant, was captivated with Mary's charms; and it has been pretended, that he might and would have taken every advantage of his good fortune, if political considerations, and his mother's remonstrances had not, tho' with difficulty, imposed a restraint on his inclinations\*.

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\* It is difficult not to digress, by saying a few words on this story, curious, as well as interesting in itself, and respecting which the French writers have been very inquisitive and diffuse. Some of the contemporary authors relate very circumstantially an anecdote, which, if it could be supposed true, would place the fact beyond all doubt, that Francis had gained the most complete interest in the young queen's affections. It is asserted that Mary, pressed by the importunities of her lover, and yielding to his entreaties, at length granted him a rendezvous in the palace of the Tournelles; and there can be little question that such an interview would have had decisive consequences. The Count d'Angoulesme, habited in the most gallant man-

1514.  Meanwhile Louis rapidly approached the termination of life, to which his nuptial pleasures

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ner, was hastening to the queen's apartment, when he was met by Grignaux, an ancient gentleman who had been in the service of Anne of Bretagne. Struck with the more than common magnificence of his dress, knowing his predominant weakness, and mistrustful of his intentions, Grignaux rudely stopt him; and addressing him, demanded whither he was going so hastily. Francis refused to answer satisfactorily to this question. —“ Donnez vous en bien garde, Monseigneur,” said Grignaux frowning; “ pasques Dieu! vous vous jouez “ à vous donner un maître; il ne faut qu'un accident, “ pour que vous restiez Comte d'Angoulesme toute “ votre vie.”—This bold and peremptory remonstrance, was not lost on the person to whom it was directed. Francis paused on the very threshold of his mistress's chamber, while love and ambition disputed for an instant in his bosom. The latter passion triumphed; and submitting to Grignaux's counsel, he had sufficient command over himself to quit the palace, without seeing the queen. Brantome, who likewise relates this story, adds, “ that Mary attempted to counterfeit pregnancy, on the death of the king; but, that Louisa of “ Savoy was not to be so over-reached, when a crown “ depended on the fact, and soon discovered the deceit.”

Notwithstanding these pretended circumstances and particulars of Grignaux's supposed remonstrance with Francis,

asures conducted him. Forgetting the maxim 1514.  
 which he had been used so frequently to re-  
 peat,

Francis, at the palace of the Tournelles, no credit is due to the anecdote. The graver French historians all reject it; and every internal evidence, drawn either from fact, or from probability, tends to disprove it. It is scarcely to be believed that any woman, except one of the most dissolute character, would, within two months after her marriage, commit an act of deliberate infidelity to her husband's bed. Louis did not survive his nuptials, above twelve weeks. Nor can we easily conceive that Francis, licentious as he may be supposed, would join in an act of such criminality. Mary maintained thro'out her whole life, a character of the highest honor, and the most unsullied purity. Besides, it was universally allowed that she was exceedingly attached at the time, to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. Her conduct towards him, and her marriage, put this fact beyond a doubt. Scarcely three months elapsed between Louis's death, and her second nuptials.

Every possible precaution was moreover unquestionably taken by Francis, to prevent a supposititious child being produced by the queen. The physicians, previous to the king's marriage, had assured the Count d'Angoulesme, that it was improbable Louis would have issue: a declaration which naturally redoubled his own, and his mother's, jealous attention to Mary's conduct. Such was their vigilance to preclude any deception on the point, that the Baroness d'Au-

1514.  peat, that “ Love is the king of young per-  
 “ sons, but the tyrant of old men;” he abandoned himself to his immoderate fondness for the young queen, and broke thro’ his accustomed regularity of life, at the banquets and entertainments which followed his marriage. His constitution, already shaken, and debilitated by a slow fever, could not long sustain

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mont, for some time after the king’s death, always slept with Mary; and the princess Claude, even before his decease, never quitted her by day. Francis, however, did not immediately assume the royal title on Louis’s decease, till he had demanded of the queen dowager, if she was pregnant? To which Mary replied in the negative, as far as she was able; adding, “ that she knew of no other sovereign besides himself, as she was not conscious of being with child.” This circumstance is expressly asserted by the Marechal de Fleuranges, in his Memoirs; a writer far more worthy of credit than Brantome. Her second marriage, in so short a space of time after the decease of her first husband, appears repugnant to the decorum and delicacy of modern manners: but, it forms no objection against the young queen’s honor or character. Catherine Parr, left a widow under somewhat similar circumstances, by Mary’s brother, Henry the eighth, married lord Seymour, in as short a period subsequent to the king’s death. Mary retained her annual dowry of sixty thousand livres, during her life.

these

these exertions. While, elated with the hope of future success, and secure on the side of England, he determined again to attack the Milanese, and prepared a considerable army to pass the Alps; he was seized with a fever and dysentery, at the palace of the Tournelles in Paris, which reduced him so low, that he breathed his last a few days afterwards, at fifty-three years of age\*.

1514.

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1st Jan.

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\* There can be no question that Louis the twelfth hastened his death, by the excess of his attachment to the young queen. From complaisance to her, he changed his whole course of life; instead of dining at eight in the morning, as he had been accustomed to do, he went to dinner at noon; and his hour of retiring to rest, was changed from six in the evening, to midnight. This total alteration in his manner of living, soon destroyed his health, and impaired his already enfeebled constitution. Guicciardini says, “*mentre che dando cupidamente opera alla bellezza eccellente, et all’età della nuova moglie, giovane de dieci otto anni, non si ricorda della sua età, et della debilita della complessione.*”—When the king found himself gradually sinking under the effects of his distemper, he sent for Francis, Count d’Angoulesme, to his bedside; and stretching out his arms to embrace him, “I am dying,” said he, “I recommend to you our subjects.” Francis, affected at this scene, entreated

1515. He was the most virtuous prince whom France ever saw reign; perhaps it may be said, who has reigned in modern Europe. It was proclaimed in the hall of the palace at his death, “The good king Louis the twelfth, “father of his people, is dead.” The proofs of sorrow and regret which he gave, whenever the necessities of war or state obliged him to levy an additional subsidy, however small, on his people, prove how justly he merited the appellation of their parent. In his clemency, and his benevolence of temper, he was not inferior to Henry the fourth; nor were these qualities obscured and diminished by that passion for licentious pleasures, which characterized the founder of the house of Bourbon thro’ life, and which accompanied him to his last moments. Louis, himself a

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treated the king not to despair of his recovery, which the physicians did not consider as hopeless. Louis is said by the Marechal de Fleuranges, to have betrayed some weakness in the last moments of his life, and to have expressed much regret, at being so soon torn from the connexions of his family and his people. He expired in the arms of Francis, who interred him near Anne of Bretagne, his beloved wife, in the abbey of St. Denis.



pattern of conjugal fidelity, afforded no encouragement to libertinism of manners. His court, decent, and restrained, neither knew the elegant politeness, nor the luxurious gallantry, which Francis the first introduced into it on his accession to the throne. His valor and military capacity had been distinguished in the field. His temper, open, candid, and cheerful, made him easy of access, and gracious in his manners to the highest degree. He loved letters, and protected learned men; but, without extending to them that princely liberality, which immortalized his successor. Throughout his whole character, we trace none of those splendid vices, which in kings are too apt to dazzle, and even to captivate mankind. His panegyrists were not poets and men of genius, commonly too ready to prostitute their talents: the voice of the French people, their simple and unembellished lamentations, formed the best panegyric of Louis the twelfth. His person resembled the mind by which it was animated: not distinguished by beauty or grace, but amiable, interesting, and agreeable.

For his vices we may search in vain. The  
shades

1515. and defects of his character, it is unnecessary to conceal. His attachment to the queen, Anne of Bretagne, which frequently degenerated into uxoriousness, caused him to commit errors very injurious to his affairs. He was duped by Ferdinand, and insulted by Julius.—In him expired the elder branch of the house of Orleans, and that of Angoulesme succeeded to the throne.

## CHAP. VI.

*Accession and character of Francis the first.—Character of Louisa, Countess d'Angoulesme.—Battle of Marignano.—Death of Ferdinand of Arragon, and of the Emperor Maximilian.—Interview of Francis and Henry the eighth.—Commencement of the wars between Francis and the Emperor, Charles the fifth.—Character of Charles, Constable of Bourbon, and of Bonnivet.—Death of Leo the tenth.—Loss of Milan.—Execution of Semblençai.—Conspiracy of the Constable of Bourbon.—Circumstances of his treason and flight.—Death of the queen.—The admiral Bonnivet enters Italy.—Bourbon lays siege to Marseilles.—Francis pursues him over the Alps.—Battle of Pavia.—Death of Bonnivet.—Enumeration of the circumstances of the king's capture and imprisonment.—Francis's confinement, and removal to Madrid.—Measures of the regent, Louisa of Savoy.—The king's rigorous captivity.—His illness.—Visit of the duchess of Alençon, his sister.—His release, and entry into his dominions.—Commencement of the favor of the duchess d'Estampes.*

THE accession of Francis the first to 1515.  
the crown, was accompanied with many of Jan.  
those

1515. those circumstances, which were calculated to diffuse over it a particular lustre\*. Nature had endowed him with those qualities of mind and person, formed not less to conciliate affection, than to excite respect. He was in

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\* Francis was born on the 12th of September, 1494, at the castle of Cognac, in the province of Angoumois. His father Charles, Count d'Angoulesme, died two years after the birth of his son, in 1496. Louis the twelfth appointed Arthur de Gouffier-Boisy, preceptor to the young prince, who nourished in him that passion for military glory, and cultivated in him that love of letters, which so eminently distinguished Francis when he ascended the throne. Brion, who was afterwards admiral of France, and Montmorenci, so renowned as Constable, were his friends and companions at this early period of life. Louis the twelfth expressed the greatest affection for him, and created him duke of Valois; but, the aversion of the queen to the marriage of her eldest daughter Claude, with Francis, compelled the king to wait till after the death of Anne of Bretagne, before that union could be effected. The antipathy which always subsisted between the queen and Louisa of Savoy, mother of Francis, formed another obstacle to this marriage; and it is said, that Anne attempted to send her rival back into Savoy, but was prevented by the interposition of Louis the twelfth. Louisa afterwards revenged, on the daughter, the haughty indignity with which she had been treated by the mother.

the flower of youth, having only passed his twentieth year by a few months. Majestic in his deportment, with the mien and appearance of a hero, his mental accomplishments were not inferior to the graces of his external figure. He excelled in the exercises of a cavalier, and pushed the lance with distinguished vigor and address. Courteous in his manners, bounteous in his temper, even to prodigality; the nobility, whom Louis the twelfth's frugality and more reserved deportment had kept at greater distance, crowded round their young sovereign with eager enthusiasm. Eloquent in the cabinet, and courageous in the field, he seemed to be made for obliterating all the disgraces, which the French arms had suffered under the preceding reign. Naturally disposed to cherish science and genius, he nevertheless impatiently desired to improve the first occasion of signalizing his talents for war, and of acquiring military fame\*.

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\* We may judge of the lustre with which Francis began his reign, and how high was his reputation thro'out all Europe, by the brilliant colors, with which Guicci-

1515. The situation of public affairs at the death of the late king, immediately presented an opportunity for the exercise of this enterprising spirit. Francis, who was equally determined to conquer the Milanese, as his predecessor had been, laid instant and open claim to that duchy: nor did he either withdraw his pretensions, or suspend his preparations, in consequence of the formidable alliance, which the emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Arragon, Sforza, the Switzers, and soon afterwards Leo the tenth, formed for its preservation. While he repaired in person to Lyons, a part of his army crossed the Alps into Piedmont. After having surmounted infinite difficulties in the carriage of the artil-

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Guicciardini has drawn his character. The portrait is that of no ordinary prince.—“Delle virtù, della magnanimità, dello ingegno, et spirito generoso di costui, s’haveva universalmente tanta speranza, che ciascuno confessava non essere già per moltissimi anni pervenuto alcuno, con maggiore aspettatione alla corona. Perche gli conciliava somma gratia il fiore dell’età, che era di 22. anni, la bellezza egregia del corpo, la liberalità grandissima, la humanità somma con tutti, et la notitia piena di molte cose.”

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lery over rocks and precipices, they effected their passage. They even used such extraordinary expedition in their march, as to surprise and take prisoner Prosper Colonna, general of the papal forces, who lay encamped with a thousand cavalry upon the river Po; at the time that he was about to sit down to table, without the least apprehension of their approach. 1515. 

On receiving this agreeable intelligence, the king set forward to join his forces, having first delegated the regency during his absence, to the Countess of Angoulesme, his mother; a princess who acted so important a part under the reign of Francis, as to render it necessary to enter somewhat minutely into her character. Louisa of Savoy connected many of the great qualities and defects of an elevated, but, ill-regulated mind. The beauty of her person, when young, had been scarcely exceeded by that of any lady in the court; and she still retained powerful attractions. Like her son, she surpassed in those accomplishments which confer elegance and grace. During the years of retirement which she had passed at the castle of Cognac in Angoumois,

1515. after her husband's death, the education of Francis had constituted her chief pleasure and occupation. To her maternal care on this important point, the nation was therefore indebted for the greater part of those mature and manly qualifications, which rendered their sovereign an object of general regard and admiration. Her ambition and love of power, were in some measure justified by her talents for government. She possessed courage, personal and political: vigor of mind, undepressed even in adversity, uncommon penetration, firmness, and capacity. But, these great endowments, which might have been so beneficial to her country, were sullied and contrasted by superior faults. Not less vindictive than Anne of Bretagne, she was insensible to every public, or private consideration, when the gratification of her resentment was at stake. Hurried away by the impetuosity of her passions, she frequently abused the influence which she possessed over the king, to the most pernicious and criminal purposes. Rapacious of the national treasures, but, avaricious in the accumulation of her own; born with all the little foibles



foibles of her sex, and a slave to more than 1515. female vanity; her bosom was still susceptible of all those violent and contradictory emotions, which love and jealousy occasion in the human heart. Such was the celebrated Louisa of Savoy\*.

Meanwhile Francis having put himself at the head of his army, marched forward into the Milanese. All the cities of the duchy opened their gates to him without resistance; and the Switzers, uncertain whether to retreat, or to give battle, retiring before him, he encamped at Marignano, only a league distant from Milan. A reinforcement of ten thousand men arriving to their aid, determined them to hazard an engagement; and actuated by a sort of military frenzy, which the exhortations of their countryman, the

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\* She was daughter of Philip the second, Count de Bugey, who had long served in the armies of France, under the reign of Louis the eleventh, and who afterwards became duke of Savoy in 1496. Louisa was born in 1477, and was married at eleven years of age to Charles, Count d'Angoulesme, on the 16th of February, 1488. She had only thirty thousand livres in dowry, at her marriage.

1515. celebrated Matthew Schiener, Cardinal of  
Sion, had greatly inspired; they advanced  
furiously to attack the French in their lines.  
History scarcely affords any instance of an  
action, disputed with more enraged animosity.  
Sept. 13. It began about four in the afternoon, in the  
month of September, and lasted more than  
three hours after the night closed in. Lassitude and darkness produced a cessation of arms, without diminishing the ardor of the contending parties, or deciding the fortune of the day; and so much were they intermingled during the heat of the contest, that many squadrons passed the night, among those of the enemy. Francis himself, after having displayed the greatest intrepidity, laid himself down upon the carriage of a piece of artillery; and like Darius after the battle of Arbela, is said to have seized with eagerness a little water, mixed with dust and blood, which one of his soldiers brought him in a helmet, to assuage his thirst. With the dawn of light, the Switzers renewed the charge, but at length were repulsed with prodigious slaughter; and a body of them being cut to pieces in a wood, where they attempted to shelter them-

themselves, the rest retreated in good order. 1515.  
 Ten thousand remained dead upon the field\*.

The

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\* There is hardly any battle in modern times, which has been disputed with greater obstinacy, than that of Marignano. The Marechal de Trivulzio, who had been in seventeen engagements, said, that "this was a combat of giants, and all the others were only children's play." Charles, Constable of Bourbon, too celebrated in the subsequent history of this reign, was eminently instrumental in the success of the day; as Francis himself confessed, in the letter which he wrote after the action, to his mother, the Countess d'Angoulême. The king, at the time when night separated the two armies, or rather suspended their mutual animosity, found himself surrounded by a few of his own attendants, who collected about him; and he had only one torch to light him. While he was in this situation, Vandenesse, brother of the Marechal de Chabannes, arrived with the information, that they were only fifty paces from one of the most numerous Swiss battalions; and that they must infallibly be made prisoners, if they were discovered. They held therefore an instant consultation, on the best means of escaping this danger; and at length, all attempt to retreat being very hazardous, de Boissey resolved to extinguish the flambeau, and to let the king remain in his actual position. Francis lay down, without sleeping, completely armed, on the carriage of a cannon, anxiously expect-

1515. The terror which this brilliant victory inspired, together with the precipitate return of the Swiss troops into their own country, left Maximilian Sforza almost destitute of any assistance. Retiring however into the castle of Milan, he endeavored to defend himself in that fortress; but finding it impracticable, he surrendered it, together with the city of Cremona, which still adhered to him, into the hands of the Constable, Charles of Bourbon, on honorable conditions; and a very ample provision being assigned him in France, Oct. he was conducted into that kingdom. All

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pecting the break of day. The king wore on that memorable occasion, a coat of mail of blue steel, ornamented with fleurs de lys. He was in every place of danger, and exposed his person like the meanest soldier. His horse was wounded in two places with a pike; and he himself, tho' not wounded, had received some violent contusions in his arms. Francis of Bourbon, duke of Chatelleraud, brother to the Constable of Bourbon, was killed in the action, by Francis's side. The Switzers are reported to have lost near fifteen thousand men in this battle, and the French about six thousand. The former army made nevertheless an orderly retreat, and even repulsed the Venetian troops, who attempted to attack them.

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the duchy of Milan immediately submitted, <sup>1515.</sup>  
and received the French\*.

This

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\* Maximilian Sforza surrendered the castle of Milan on terms, to the Constable, Charles of Bourbon, after a siege of twenty days; tho' he had provisions in the garrison which might have enabled him to hold out for some months. Francis the first stipulated for the payment of his debts, to grant him an asylum in France, and either to bestow on him a pension of thirty thousand crowns, or to procure him an annual income in ecclesiastical benefices to that amount, together with a Cardinal's hat. The new duke of Milan, Maximilian Sforza, thus driven from his dominions, by a fate similar to that of his father Ludovico, and become in turn a prisoner to the king of France; descended from his painful eminence, without betraying any emotions of concern or shame. Like Richard Cromwell, the son of an usurper, and like him destitute of ambition, or of talents; uneasy under the weight of power, he gladly retired from a situation where he was continually exposed to the exactions or insolence of those, who called themselves his allies. He was a feeble prince, neither possessing abilities in the cabinet, nor military ardor in the field. On his surrender, he was immediately conducted into France, where he quietly resided; and died at Paris, on the 10th of June, 1536.—Before the approach of the French troops to invest Milan, the Cardinal of Sion, who had retired to that city after the

1515. This rapid conquest, which diffused terror  
 over the north of Italy, was followed by an  
 Dec. interview between Francis and Leo the tenth,  
 which took place at the city of Bologna\*. The artful pontiff yielding to necessity, employed all the seductions of flattery, and the refinements of artifice, in order to gain the king, and dextrously to incline him to favor the views of the papal court. When their conferences were ended, the king returning in haste to Lyons, where his mother waited for him, was received with demonstrations of

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defeat of his countrymen at Marignano; fearing the resentment of Francis, if he fell into that prince's hands, and scarcely dreading less to meet his vanquished friends, fled into Germany, to the emperor Maximilian. The Cardinal carried with him the brother of the late duke of Milan, Francis Sforza, last prince of that house, so celebrated, and so unfortunate.

\* Leo arrived at Bologna on the 8th of December, and Francis, two days afterwards. The Cardinals de Fiesco, and de Medecis, were sent by his Holiness to meet the king, on the frontiers of the papal dominions, and to conduct him to Bologna. Leo and Francis, after having passed three days together, engaged in conferences respecting the political situation of Italy, parted with reciprocal demonstrations of respect.

univer-

universal satisfaction. It was hardly possible <sup>1515.</sup>  
 to commence his reign with more prosperous  
 success ; nor did the nation foresee the re-  
 verses, by which the late conquests were  
 speedily to be followed.

Ferdinand, king of Arragon, expired at this <sup>1516.</sup>  
 time, of a dropsy and atrophy ; occasioned or <sup>Jan. 23.</sup>  
 accelerated, as is pretended, by certain me-  
 dicinal drugs, which his queen, Germana of  
 Foix, had administered to him, in hopes of  
 having issue\*. His own hereditary dominions,  
 together

\* Ferdinand the Catholic had been, for some months  
 previous to his death, in a declining state of health.  
 In July, 1515, he was taken with so violent a fit of  
 vomiting at Burgos, in the night, that his life was for  
 some time considered to be in imminent danger : and  
 tho' he recovered from that attack, his physicians an-  
 nounced to him, that he would not survive it a very  
 long time. In the autumn he quitted Valladolid, and  
 having determined to pass the winter in the province of  
 Andalusia, hoping to derive benefit from the mildness  
 of the climate, he stopped for some time at the city of  
 Placentia. From thence he continued his journey to  
 Truxillo ; and setting out in order to meet his grand-  
 son, the Infant Ferdinand, he was compelled by illness  
 to stop in a miserable village called Madrigalejo, at a  
 little

1516. together with those possessed by Isabella of Castile, descended to the young archduke Charles, his grandson, then only sixteen years of age. The decease of Ferdinand, tho'

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little inn, which was the only tolerable habitation in the place. Finding himself much exhausted, he called immediately for his confessor, father Matienço, received the sacraments of the church, and prepared himself for his dissolution. He declared his daughter Joanna, sole heiress to all his dominions; and after her, the archduke Charles, his grandson. To his queen Germana, he left a pension of thirty thousand florins a year. He lastly delegated the regency of Castile to Cardinal Ximenes: and that of Arragon, to his natural son, the archbishop of Saragossa. His queen Germana arrived from Lerida, on the 22d January, some hours before his death; and he expired on the ensuing day, between one and two o'clock in the morning, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Ferdinand directed his body to be interred near that of Isabella of Castile, at Granada. Tho' a treacherous and faithless prince, his abilities were incontestible, and he may be said to have founded the grandeur of the Spanish monarchy. Naples, Granada, and Navarre, added to the united crowns of Castile and Arragon, formed a most powerful state; to which, if we join the vast resources arising from the discovery and conquest of the new world, we shall not wonder at the apprehensions excited by such prodigious dominions, vested under one head.




it greatly weakened the league formed against France, yet did not prevent the emperor Maximilian from making one great effort, to restore the affairs of the confederates in Lombardy. Breaking in upon the Milanese, with near forty thousand Switzers and Germans, he advanced and laid siege to Milan. But, the irresolution which ever characterized all Maximilian's enterprizes, affording time to the Constable of Bourbon to approach the city, tho' with inferior forces, the emperor retired; and his troops, which were ill paid, being with difficulty kept together, at length disbanded, without effecting any important object.

If the personal character of Francis, and the uniform success which had hitherto attended on his arms, might reasonably affect the states of Italy with apprehension; the power of Charles, the new king of Spain, was far more alarming to Europe, because more ample and extensive. To the kingdoms of Castile, Navarre, and Arragon, which had never before been united; he joined Naples, the Netherlands, and the Indies. In further addition to these immense territories in Europe


1516.

1516

1518.

1518.  rope and in America, might be expected the imperial crown of Germany; which, from Maximilian's age and infirmities, seemed to be no very distant object of ambition. Justly alarmed at the prospect, which so many dignities and kingdoms concentrated under one sovereign, opened to his view; Francis attempted to avert, or to delay, the impending danger, by concluding a treaty of peace with Charles. It was terminated at Montpellier; and being followed by another treaty, made between Francis and Henry the eighth, king of England, seemed to promise a period of tranquillity. But, these fallacious appearances were soon overturned by the death of the emperor Maximilian. That event, by which the imperial dignity became vacant, opening a field of competition so important, laid the foundation of private animosity, and public wars, between Charles and Francis; which, tho' sometimes suspended, were never terminated or adjusted, during the lives of the two princes.

1519. The emperor's decease, which took place  
Jan. at the city of Lintz upon the Danube, while he was employed in attempts to gain the electoral

toral suffrages, for his grandson's nomination as king of the Romans ; did not however produce an instant rupture\*. Charles and Francis immediately declared themselves candidates for the empire ; but, without displaying any external or apparent marks of mutual antipathy. The contest was soon decided, by the election of the young king of Spain to the imperial throne, under the name of Charles the fifth. 1519. 

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\* Maximilian, after having held a diet at Augsbourg, had repaired from thence to Inspruck in the Tyrol, where he was attacked with a slow fever ; in order to dissipate which by change of air, he embarked on the river Inn, for Lintz in Upper Austria. The disorder increasing on his way, at the town of Wells, he endeavored to expel it by violent exercise. On his return from hunting, on a certain day, being exceedingly thirsty, he ate a great quantity of melons ; and having afterwards injudiciously taken medicine, his distemper, which before was only an intermitting fever, changed to a continual one, attended with a violent dysentery, which carried him off in the sixtieth year of his age. He ordered on his death-bed, that his body should neither be embalmed nor embowelled, but, that the cavities should be filled with quick lime. He was interred, by his own directions, at Neustadt in Austria. He expired on the 12th of January, 1519.

This

1519. This increase of splendor and dignity still farther alarmed the king; and his disappointed ambition conspiring with his political apprehensions, impelled him to make new exertions for setting limits to the power of his formidable rival. No measure of policy appeared so calculated for this end, as a close alliance with England. An interview, which had been before agreed on between him and Henry the eighth, took place in the vicinity of Calais, between Ardres and Guisnes, in the month of June. The magnificence that was displayed on this occasion, which resulted from the characteristic temper of the two princes, alike splendid and profuse; made the spot retain the name of "The field of the cloth of gold." The interview lasted for ten or twelve days; during which time, tournaments, banquets, and every species of diversion succeeded each other; the queens of either sovereign honoring it with their presence. Francis expended in this empty show, useless to his kingdom, a greater sum than Charles had distributed to acquire the imperial crown: but it was followed by no durable or solid friendship between the two kings. With more  
pro-

profound policy, the young emperor had previously passed over into England; where he entered into connexions with Henry, which experience proved to be much more permanent and binding, than those contracted with the French king. 1520.

While the ceremony of Charles's coronation was performed at Aix-la-Chapelle, Francis made an effort to re-conquer the little kingdom of Navarre, which had been so unjustly taken by Ferdinand of Arragon, from John d'Albret. Those extraordinary and sudden reverses of fortune, which eminently mark this whole reign, were peculiarly striking in the course of the expedition. Pampelona, the capital of Navarre, surrendered, and the whole surrounding country was reduced to obedience. But, the temerity and imprudence of the French commander, Lesparre, who was brother to the Countess de Chateau-Briant, Francis's mistress, rendered ineffectual these prosperous beginnings. Not content with fulfilling the great object of recovering for the family of Albret, their lost dominions, and endeavoring to secure its possession; he made  
an

1521. an irruption into Castile, and laid siege to the city of Logroño. He was defeated before that place; a misfortune which speedily restored to Spain all that she had lost, and obliged him precipitately to evacuate his new conquest.

Numberless sources of discord fomented the natural rivalry between the two sovereigns, which it was obvious must speedily be productive of an open rupture. Charles, of a more cautious character, as well as deeper in his views, than Francis, had already entered into a strict alliance with Leo the tenth, and had found means to fix the wavering pontiff in his interests. The re-establishment of Francisco Sforza, Maximilian's younger brother, as sovereign of the duchy of Milan, formed the leading principle and stipulation of this new confederacy. So visibly did it appear calculated to produce the greatest calamities to Europe, that Chievres, the emperor's preceptor, when he received the intelligence of its conclusion, is said to have died of concern, at the melancholy anticipation of the misfortunes which must result from it; often repeating before he

he expired; “ Ah! how many evils!” His prediction was too fatally verified by facts\*. 1521.  
May.

A singular accident, which had nearly proved fatal, befel Francis at this time. The court, which resided at Romorantin, in the province of Berri, during the winter, was occupied with amusements: According to the manners of that age, when an exertion of vigor or activity characterized almost every Jan.

\* William de Croy, Seigneur de Chièvres, and duke of Soria, was a nobleman of the most approved integrity; and acknowledged talents. Louis the twelfth, to whom Philip king of Castile had left the guardianship of his son Charles, then only six years of age; appointed Chièvres governor of the person of the young archduke. His choice could not have fallen on a more irreproachable subject. Chièvres educated his royal pupil; in a manner which might qualify him for filling with dignity and wisdom, the highest situation in Europe. Charles always loved and respected him. He died at Worms, in May, 1521, at the age of sixty-three. The death of his nephew, the Cardinal de Croy, together with the anticipation of the misfortunes in which Europe was on the point of being plunged, by the ambition and rivalry of Charles and Francis; aggravated and increased the symptoms of his disorder, which carried him off in a few days. It has been asserted, tho’ probably without foundation, that his end was hastened by unnatural means.

1521. diversion; the king, with a small band of gentlemen, attacked the house of the Count de St. Pol, who defended it with another party. Snowballs, and other weapons of that nature, being used by the assailants; one of those on the opposite side unfortunately threw down a torch, which struck the king upon the head, and severely wounded him. He was long confined by the effects of the blow, which even threatened his life; and as it became necessary to cut off his hair, in order to facilitate his recovery, he never would suffer it to grow again, but introduced the fashion of wearing the beard long, and the hair short; a mode which subsisted generally in Europe for more than a century, till the reign of Louis the thirteenth, when the ancient custom was resumed\*.

The

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\* It was never ascertained by what hand the torch was thrown, which struck the king; as Francis, with true magnanimity, would not permit any attempt to be made to discover the person who had wounded him. "I only," said he, "have been in the wrong. I was guilty of the folly, and I ought to be punished for it." His life was despaired of, for several days. It was at first reported that he was dead, and afterwards, that



The war which had long impended, but, <sup>1521.</sup> which a variety of causes had protracted, at length began. Charles and Francis, concealing nevertheless in some degree their mutual animosity, and endeavouring to preserve to the last, the external appearance of friendship, only abetted and supported their respective vassals. The desire, common to each, of gaining over to their side the king of England, who professed himself the common arbiter of their disputes, obliged them to observe a degree of moderation. But, this veil was soon withdrawn, and the two princes took the field in person. Francis, at the head of a numerous army, impatient again to signalize himself, and to renew the victory of

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that he had lost his sight. The king shewed himself as soon as possible, to the foreign ministers, in order to disprove these assertions. It has been pretended, without foundation, that the blow was given by the Captain de Lorges; but this is unquestionably a mistake. When we reflect how narrowly Francis escaped death by this accident; and when we afterwards see his son and successor, Henry the second, actually perishing by a similar shock on the head, in a tournament; we cannot avoid being astonished at such a singular concurrence of chances.

1521. Marignano, opposed the emperor, near Valenciennes, on the banks of the Schelde. It is at this period of his reign, that we may date the commencement of that series of errors, which in the event reduced France to the most deplorable condition. The command of the French van belonged of right to Charles of Bourbon, in virtue of his office as Constable: but the king, who never personally liked him, and who in consequence of the resentment of his mother Louisa against him, had been still farther prepossessed in his disfavor; chose to confide this important trust to Charles, duke of Alençon, first prince of the blood. Not satisfied with shewing him so unmerited and unjust an affront, Francis added to it another, not less injurious in its consequences to his own fame and the interests of his crown, than the former was to the Constable's honor. The emperor, desirous of avoiding a general engagement, and fearing that from the vicinity of the two armies, he might be unavoidably compelled to hazard an action; withdrew his forces in some confusion, and retired under cover of a thick fog, to a greater distance. Bourbon, who

saw

saw the opportunity, urged the king to take <sup>1521.</sup> advantage of it, by instantly attacking the enemy in his retreat. But, Francis, jealous of a participation which must deprive him of part of the glory of the day ; and preferring the gratification of his own resentment, to more magnanimous or salutary principles ; rejected with a cold contempt the Constable's advice, and refused to seize the occasion, which never afterwards returned, of giving battle to his rival in person\*.

These

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\* It is universally allowed, that if the Constable of Bourbon's advice had been followed, the emperor's army must have been defeated on this occasion. The Marechals de la Tremouille and de Chabannes, as well as the Chevalier Bayard, joined in opinion and entreaty with the Constable, to induce the king to attack the imperial forces in their retreat. But, the French camp was divided between two great factions. The duke of Alençon opposed the opinion of attacking the Count de Nassau, who had been sent by Charles, with twelve thousand Lansquenets, and four thousand horse, to prevent the passage of the Schelde ; and who might have been cut off from a possibility of rejoining the main body. He was supported in this advice, so contrary to the interests of France, by the Marechal de Chatillon, who had received private directions from

1521. These repeated insults sunk deep into Bourbon's mind, tho' as yet they produced no apparent effect upon his conduct. Deeply affected nevertheless with the preference given to the duke of Alençon, and imputing it to the influence or suggestions of Louisa, Francis's mother; he could not refrain from publicly saying, "That in that act, the king had followed the impressions of a woman, who manifested no more regard to justice, than she possessed private honor." The great

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Louisa of Savoy, not to expose her son's person to danger, and to dissuade him as much as possible, from a general action. Francis himself espoused his mother's quarrel with the Constable, and was glad to seize the occasion of mortifying and opposing him. Such were the mistaken, or unworthy motives, which conduced to determine the king to lose this opportunity of defeating his rival. How deep an impression the injury done to the Constable, by giving the command of the van to the duke of Alençon, made on his mind; is sufficiently evident, from the answer which he returned to Francis, when, after his flight to the emperor, the king demanded of him the collar of St. Michael, and the sword of Constable.—"I left," said he, "the collar, under the head of my bed at Chantelle; and as to the Constable's sword, he deprived me of it at Valenciennes."

features

features of the Constable's character, which might be said to form a contrast with those of Francis, contributed to increase their mutual dislike. - Of a temperate and steady courage, ever master of itself, Charles of Bourbon was calculated by nature for military command, and capable of conducting the most difficult enterprizes. No commander of the age in which he lived, possessed so fully the talent of conciliating the affections of the soldiery, and of moulding them to all his purposes. Munificent and liberal, where circumstances required it, he was naturally disposed to economy. Silent, thoughtful, and inclined from temper to taciturnity, he did not sufficiently cultivate the arts which ingratiate in courts. And disdaining to stoop even to the honorable means of acquiring favor or popularity, he refused to owe any thing except to his own personal merits\*.

### Qualities

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\* Charles of Bourbon-Montpensier, was the second son of Gilbert, duke of Montpensier, who died at Puzoli, after an unsuccessful attempt to preserve the kingdom of Naples, under Charles the eighth. He was born on the 17th of February, 1490. His elder brother, Louis de Montpensier, by one of the most unex-

1521.

Qualities of this nature, which might have been called into action with so much advantage

amplified instances of filial piety which history has ever preserved, expired almost on the tomb of his father, from the exquisite feelings of distress. Having gone to pray at the tomb near Puzzoli, the silence and solitude of the place so powerfully affected his imagination, and the grief for his father's loss which it inspired and renewed, operated so violently on him, that he was seized with a fever, of which he died at Naples, to which city he was immediately transported. Charles's younger brother Francis fell at the battle of Marignano. — The French writers all assert, in terms more or less positive, that the Countess d'Angoulesme had given the Constable the most unequivocal proofs of her attachment to him; and that the indifference which he at first expressed, and the disdain with which he afterwards treated her passion, proved the source of all his future indignities and calamities.

By his marriage with Susanna, daughter to Anne, lady of Beaujeu, and duchess of Bourbon, he inherited the immense possessions of that house; his own paternal fortunes being small. Louis the twelfth had chiefly conducted to form this union, by his authority and personal interposition. When the nuptials were solemnized, the young duchess made a solemn and formal contract, by which, in case of her decease, she appointed Charles her husband, her successor; and endowed him with all her lands, rights, and pretensions.

The

tage to the crown, and to the kingdom, were 1521.  
unfortunately neglected by Francis, whose  
favor was extended to persons of a more accommodat-  
ing disposition. Bonnivet, admiral  
of France, who occupied the first place in  
his master's affection, and whose ascendancy  
over him eventually produced the most fatal  
consequences to his country; resembled the  
celebrated Villiers, first duke of Buckingham,  
in many points of character. Like the fa-  
vorite of James the first, Bonnivet was the  
handsomest nobleman of the court, as he was  
likewise the most arrogant, vain, and pre-  
sumptuous. Endowed with no talents for war,  
except personal courage, he nevertheless had  
the conduct of armies entrusted to his care.

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The nature of this donation, made in presence of the  
reigning sovereign, and confirmed by his express con-  
sent and approbation, seemed to secure it from any  
doubts respecting its validity. But, as Susanna, at  
the time of the bequest, wanted two or three months to  
be of full age; this unimportant and unnecessary form  
became eventually the pretext, on which Louisa and  
the Chancellor du Prat founded their unjust pretensions  
upon the estates of the Constable. She died in child-  
bed, about eight years after her marriage, on the 28th  
April, 1521, leaving no issue.

Gallant,

1521. Gallant, as well as enterprizing, he found an easy access to female favor; and was peculiarly distinguished by Louisa of Savoy, under whose protection he rose to the highest offices. Pertinacious in his adherence to whatever plans he had once formed, and intoxicated by the delusions of self-love; he rarely yielded to the advice of others, however obviously disinterested or judicious. Yet ministering with address to his sovereign's passion for pleasures and dissipation, Bonnivet acquired, and retained an almost unlimited influence over him\*. Being sent into Navarre, at the

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\* William Gouffier, Sieur de Bonnivet, better known in history under the title of the Admiral Bonnivet, was the younger brother of Arthur de Gouffier-Boisy, preceptor and governor to Francis the first. He distinguished himself in the wars of Italy, under Louis the twelfth, where he served with reputation. But he possessed neither the moderation, nor the wisdom of his elder brother: tho' he early enjoyed a distinguished place in the favor of Francis, who sent him ambassador to Henry the eighth in 1519, and created him in the same year, grand admiral of France. His ascendancy over the king's mind; his rivalry to the Constable of Bourbon, whose office he aspired to fill; and his impetuous councils, had nearly brought the French monarchy to the brink of ruin.

· head



head of a considerable body of forces; the re-conquest of which kingdom was ever a favorite object of Francis's policy, and the unremitting effort of his whole reign; Bonnivet besieged and took the city of Fontarabia. The fortifications should have been instantly demolished; but Bonnivet, proud of his conquest, and desirous of perpetuating the memory of its acquisition, would not listen to the judicious remonstrances of the duke of Guise, upon that point. The place was therefore garrisoned; and soon after, as had been foretold, was retaken by the Spaniards.

1521.  
  
 Oct.

But, in Italy, where the emperor and Leo the tenth had openly declared hostilities against France, the operations of the war attracted Francis's chief attention. Unfortunately for the prosperity of his affairs, he had entrusted the government of the Milanese to another of his favorites, ill calculated to repel an enterprising enemy, or to retain discontented subjects in obedience. Odet de Foix, Viscount of Lautrec, eldest brother of the king's mistress, the countess of Chateau-Briant,

1521. Briant\* ; to whom so important a charge was confided ; possessed scarcely any qualities to justify

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\* We know very little with certainty, relative to the Countess of Chateau-Briant, or the manner of her first becoming an object of the king's particular attachment. Her name was Françoise de Foix. She was born about the year 1495, and was married to the Seigneur de Laval in Bretagne, when only twelve years of age. Possessed of uncommon beauty, she united to her personal attractions, all the accomplishments of the age in which she flourished. The exact æra of her first appearance at the court of France, is not ascertained. She became, however, early in the present reign, the declared favorite of the king; and from her ascendancy over him, more than from the personal merit or talents of her three brothers, they were advanced to the highest military commands, in Navarre, in the Milanese, and in the kingdom of Naples. Her influence appears to have lasted till the king's campaign in Italy, which was followed by the battle of Pavia. Mademoiselle de Heilly, better known by the title of duchess d'Estampes, succeeded to her place on Francis's return into his dominions from his prison at Madrid, in 1526. The death of the Countess of Chateau-Briant has been the subject of much inquiry and romance. It is pretended without reason, that her veins were opened by her husband's command, about six months after the battle of Pavia, at the castle

justify the choice, except his sister's favor 1521. with the king. In the haughtiness of his manners, he surpassed even Bonnivet, and had already disgusted the great feudatory lords of the duchy, by the insolence of his demeanor\*.

At the time when the papal and imperial armies entered the Milanese, Lautrec was in the court of France; having left his brother Lescun, commonly called the Marechal de Foix, to supply his place. The king, anxious for the preservation of his Italian dominions,

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castle of Chateau-Briant in Bretagne. This is however totally disproved by the inscription on her tomb, in the church of the Mathurins of that place, by which it appears that she died on the 16th of October, 1537. She appears to have had no children by the king.

\* Odet de Foix, eldest of the three brothers of Françoise de Foix, mistress to Francis the first, is very celebrated in the history of this reign. At the battle of Ravenna in 1512, he was left upon the field as dead; but, being recognized and conveyed to Ferrara, he recovered of his wounds. In 1521, he took the cities of Brescia and Verona, while governor of the Milanese: but, to his severities, negligence, and misconduct, may in a great measure be attributed the disgraces of the French in that duchy, and its subsequent loss.

would

1521. would have instantly sent Lautrec to his government: but he, conscious of the disorder which Francis's profusion, and his mother's rapacity, had introduced into the finances, absolutely refused to set out, till the necessary funds were provided for the payment of his troops. Nor, till after he had received the most solemn and reiterated assurances from Louisa, Francis's mother, as well as from those who superintended the public treasures, that the money should immediately follow him, could he be induced to begin his journey. Upon his arrival on the banks of the Po, the enemy retired before him in confusion. But, by his neglect of those advantages, which their distressed situation and mutinous spirit repeatedly offered him, he was reduced in his turn to retreat; after having lost the city of Milan, besides Parma, Placentia, and several inferior places; the castle of Milan alone continuing to hold out for France. The joy which Leo the tenth experienced at this intelligence, produced an agitation of spirits so violent, that it was followed by a fever; of which he died on the fifth day from his seizure,

Dec.

seizure, in the full vigor of life, and after a pontificate of scarcely nine years\*. 1521.

This

\* Leo the tenth, so celebrated in the annals of the pontificate, and of letters, was son to the immortal Lorenzo de Medecis, surnamed the magnificent, and inherited all his father's taste for the arts. He was born in 1477, and succeeded to Julius the second, at the age of thirty-six years. His reign will be for ever memorable, by the revolt of Luther from the Romish church: Leo, when Cardinal legate, was taken prisoner by the French, at the battle of Ravenna; and having afterwards joined the league against Francis the first, he often used to say, that "he should die content, if he only saw Parma and Placentia recovered from that prince." —The agitation, occasioned by the pleasure which he felt on receiving this welcome intelligence, was such, that he was seized with a slight fever on the same evening. Being at one of his voluptuous retreats near Rome, called Magliano, he caused himself to be immediately removed to that city. The physicians at first treated his disorder as slight; but it increased, and put an end to his life in a very few days, on the 2d of December, 1521. His cup-bearer, Barnabo, marquis of Malespina, was strongly suspected of having poisoned him, and was even thrown into prison on the imputation of having committed that crime. But, the Cardinal de Medecis, Leo's cousin, who afterwards became pope Clement the seventh; on his arrival at Rome, caused Malespina to be

1521. This event, so unexpected, and so injurious to the emperor, would immediately have re-established the affairs of Francis; if the misfortune which Lautrec had dreaded, and even in some degree predicted before he quitted Paris, had not, by taking place, destroyed these flattering appearances. The Countess d'Angoulesme, by an act the most pernicious to her son, as well as derogatory to her own honour and the interests of the state, had diverted to her private use, the funds destined for the payment of the troops in Italy. The precise motives, which induced her to commit this violation of the engagements into which she had entered, are somewhat ambiguous and unascertained. Personal hatred of the Countess de Chateau-Briant, and of her brother Lautrec; added to the desire of procuring the command of


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be released, and no further inquiry to be made into the circumstances of Leo's death. He was a magnificent and enlightened prince, a patron of all the arts; and endowed with talents for government; but his irregularities and infidelity, rendered him scarcely more proper to fill the pontifical chair, than either of his predecessors, Julius, or Alexander.

the

the army in the Milanese for her own brother, the Bastard of Savoy; are commonly assigned as the reasons. The money, amounting to three hundred thousand crowns, had been already deposited with Semblençai, who was Superintendant of the finances. But, Louisa demanded it with such earnestness, and threatened the Superintendant with such severe effects of her resentment, in case of his continued refusal; that, overcome by the menaces which she used, and reposing on her assurances of protection, in case of the king's displeasure, he yielded to her importunity. 1521.

The total loss of the Milanese was the consequence of this iniquitous abuse of her authority. Lautrec, unassisted with the money which had been promised him, could scarcely maintain himself in the duchy; while Francisco Sforza, youngest son to Ludovico, and last representative of that family, being received into the city of Milan; and being supported by the army of Colonna, as well as by the affections of his own subjects, confirmed himself in his new acquisition. The Marechal de Foix, whom his brother had dispatched into France, with the account of his 1522.

1522.  distressful situation, returned at length ; but, arrived too late to repair the misfortune. That favourable occasion, which presents itself in the affairs of war, was already irretrievably lost, and could no more be recovered.

Repeated and unsuccessful efforts against a superior enemy, destroyed the forces of Lautrec. After having been compelled by the April. seditious murmurs of the Swiss troops in his army, who with clamorous importunity demanded their arrears ; to give battle reluctantly at the village of La Bicoque, near Milan, where a defeat was inevitable ; and having in vain laid siege to Pavia, he sunk under his difficulties. Every resource being exhausted, and winter impending, he quitted the Milanese, and returned into France, only attended by two domestics. His brother was immediately invested in Cremona, and forced to capitulate : Francisco Sforza was completely re-established in his dominions ; the principal places in the duchy received the Imperialists ; and even Genoa, which hitherto had remained faithful, revolting from the French, expelled their troops from the city.

Such was the king's indignation at receiving  
this



this intelligence, that on Lautrec's arrival, <sup>1522.</sup>  
Francis refused to admit him to his presence, or to hear his justification. But, having, by the friendship of the Constable of Bourbon, found an opportunity of obtaining access to his majesty; Lautrec accused the Superintendant of the finances, Semblençai, with having occasioned all the disasters of the campaign, by withholding from him the promised supplies. Semblençai, terrified, and incapable of making any other defence, threw the blame of the transaction on the king's mother: but Louisa, adding the basest inhumanity to all her other faults, found means to exculpate herself, and to persuade her son that only Semblençai was criminal. Judges were appointed to examine into this affair, and the Chancellor du Prat was among the number. Destitute of integrity, neither actuated by any principles of justice nor of honor, and wholly devoted to the interests of the Countess d'Angoulesme, he procured Semblençai's condemnation. This unfortunate minister, far advanced in years, who had grown grey under four successive princes, and whom Francis used to honor with the endearing

1522. and respectful appellation of his father; was  
led out to punishment, and ignominiously  
executed. Lautrec himself, disgraced, was  
ordered to repair to his government of Guy-  
enne\*.

Notwith-

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\* The most candid and impartial survey must, when all circumstances are considered, acquit Lautrec of blame respecting the loss of the Milanese. He remained there with his troops, till they became so mutinous and discontented, that he was in imminent danger of being seized by them, as a pledge for the payment of their arrears; and he was even obliged to pass disguised thro' Switzerland, in his return to France. The Constable of Bourbon, not without great difficulty, procured him at length an audience of the king in council, by declaring to his majesty, that Lautrec could fully justify himself; and would besides disclose some extraordinary secrets, with which it imported him deeply to be made acquainted.

Lautrec, when introduced into the royal presence, preserved his native haughtiness of deportment; and even presumed to complain highly to his master, of his ungracious reception. Francis was covered with astonishment at the recital of his story. He ordered Semblençai to be instantly sent for; but, in the interval which elapsed between this order and his appearance, the king reproached Lautrec with incapacity, and with precipitation, in abandoning the Milanese, notwithstanding  
the

Notwithstanding his past misfortunes, and 1523.  
 in defiance of almost all the great powers of  
 Europe combined against him, the king per-  
 sisted in his resolution to recover the Milanese.  
 For this purpose he not only sent the Admiral  
 Lannivet over the Alps, but he had even in-  
 tended to command the army in person, des-  
 tined for the expedition; when an incident the  
 most alarming checked his designs, and com-

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the disappointment in his remittances: insultingly  
 adding, that Colonna and Pescara, the Imperial com-  
 manders, had been no better, nor more punctually, sup-  
 plied with money. To these charges Lautrec modestly  
 replied; and he was still engaged in his exculpation,  
 when Semblençai arrived. The king, giving him a  
 look of indignation at his entrance, demanded if the facts  
 alledged against him were true? On the accusation of  
 his mother, as the origin of all these evils, his amaze-  
 ment and fury were heightened. Louisa was sum-  
 moned, and appeared. Semblençai repeated before her  
 his justification. The Countess, unmoved either by her  
 own consciousness of its veracity, or by the presence of  
 the king, gave a loose to the most unbounded resent-  
 ment against the unfortunate treasurer. She even did  
 not hesitate to accuse him of a lie, and to insist on his  
 being punished as a traitor, who had aspersed her honor.  
 —Semblençai's ruin and execution, were the conse-  
 quence of this iniquitous and foul transaction.

1523.  pelled him to watch over the internal tranquillity of his kingdom. This event, one of the most interesting, as well as important, in the history of Francis's reign, was the defection and revolt of the Constable of Bourbon.

If ever that crime which we denominate treason, and which justly inspires so much abhorrence in every loyal or honorable mind, was palliated by the circumstances which attended, or produced it; if, under any situation, it can admit of apology or defence, it is in the instance now submitted to our consideration. A prince of the blood, whom his high birth, his personal qualities, as well as his power and offices under the crown, ought to have raised above the persecution of any individual; had been marked out by the Countess d'Angoulesme's unrelenting desire of revenge. The contempt with which he had refused her hand and person, which she offered him; superadded to the sentiments of aversion which he avowed for her character; had inflamed her to a pitch of resentment, which could only be satisfied by his ruin. Bonnivet, ambitious of succeeding him in his office of Constable, and hoping to obtain it by Bourbon's disgrace, joined the Countess;

Countess; and du Prat, one of the most corrupt and vicious ministers to whom the seals were ever confided, lent his assistance to complete the scheme. 1523.

Louisa, not content with having prevented Bourbon's marriage with the princess Renée, youngest daughter to Louis the twelfth, and sister of the queen; determined to strike at the root of his greatness, by laying personal claim to the vast possessions which he held in right of his late wife, Susanna of Bourbon, daughter to the famous Lady of Beaujeu, regent under Charles the eighth. She succeeded in this attempt, thro' the forms of law; tho' in contradiction to equity, and by a perversion of every sacred or binding institution.


The Constable, finding himself thus despoiled of his fortune, oppressed by the hand which should have protected him, and driven to despair by a series of insults or injuries; sacrificed his loyalty to his resentment, and opened a secret treaty with the emperor. Charles, who knew the value of his friendship, and the important consequences which might ensue from the acquisition of such an ally, not

1523. only agreed to his proposals, but even exceeded all his demands\*.

Francis

\* Adrian de Croy, Count de Rièux, first gentleman of the bed-chamber, was the person employed by the emperor, to carry on the negotiation with Bourbon. Passing thro' France, disguised as a peasant, he arrived by night at Chantelle, the Constable's castle in the Bourbonnais; where Rièux lay in an adjoining apartment to him, and settled the terms previous to his revolt. Bourbon, not satisfied with the powers granted to the Count de Rièux, and desirous of entering into more exact conditions with the emperor, dispatched La Mothe de Noyers, a gentleman in his service, into Spain. La Mothe returned, bringing with him the most ample and general ratification of all his demands. Bourbon having first buried the papers in a box underground, at the foot of a tree, began to assemble his partizans and vassals, under pretence of accompanying the king on his march into Italy. Matignon and d'Argouges, two gentlemen of that number, who were privy to their lord's conspiracy; having confessed at Easter, and enumerated, among their other transgressions, a plot against the state, in which they were engaged; the priest commanded them instantly to discover it to their sovereign, and set out immediately himself, to impart this interesting intelligence to Brezé, Seneschal of Normandy. The gentlemen believing themselves

Francis received advice of this dangerous conspiracy, as he was on his rout to Lyons, with the intention of crossing the Alps; and he instantly took the resolution of coming to an explanation with the Constable in person. Repairing to him for that purpose at Moulins, the king informed him candidly of the imputation laid to his charge: Bourbon, while he denied having accepted the emperor's offers, admitted that overtures had been made to him on the part of Charles, with a view to shake his allegiance. As this confession was sufficient to justify his seizure, we must either impute to the king's generosity, and his consciousness how unworthily Bourbon had been treated; or to his inability to arrest so powerful a lord, surrounded by his vassals, who were warmly attached to him; that he was not immediately committed to custody. It is certain, that Francis contented himself with commanding



1523.


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selves undone, and conscious that their confession could alone preserve their lives, mounted on horseback; and meeting Francis at St. Pierre-le-Moutier in the Bourbonnais, threw themselves at his feet, where they made an ingenuous disclosure of the whole transaction.

the

1523. the Constable to follow him to Lyons. Bourbon affected to obey; and being somewhat indisposed, began his journey in a litter. While he was on the road, intelligence reached him that the parliament, which was the court of judicature before whom the claims of the Countess d'Angoulesme were brought; in execution of a sentence passed against him, had ordered all his estates to be sequestered. Notwithstanding this information, which was of a nature to extinguish all hopes of protection from the king, against his mother's injustice; he made one more effort to avert the impending evil. Hoping to obtain that redress from Francis's magnanimity, which Louisa refused, he dispatched the bishop of Autun, to implore that the decree issued by the parliament, might at least be suspended; and to assure the king, that such an act of grace would bind him for ever to his majesty's service. If this reasonable request had been granted, there is the greatest reason to suppose, that it would have retained Bourbon in his allegiance; but, by the inveterate animosity of his enemies, who had resolved on his destruction, the bishop was arrested at only two leagues



leagues distance from the Constable's residence\*. 1523. 

The

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\* The minutest circumstances respecting the revolt and flight of so illustrious a man, become interesting.—When the bishop of Autun was seized by the Marechal de Chabannes, a footman rode in all haste to give the Constable information of the circumstance. He was then at his castle of Chantelle. The instant that he received this intelligence, he set out by night for Herment, a little town in Auvergne, of which Henry Arnould, a gentleman attached to him, was governor. Arriving there when it was dark, he immediately awoke Pomperant and Montagnac-Tenzane. The former of these gentlemen owed his life to him; for, Pomperant having killed Chisay, a celebrated gallant of the court, Bourbon first afforded him shelter, and afterwards procured his pardon. Tenzane, aged near eighty years at this time, remained inviolably attached to him in his misfortunes; tho' he had ever opposed, and been averse to his treaty with the emperor. It was requisite that one of them should accompany him, while the other remained behind, in order to favor his flight. As the latter employment was by far the most hazardous, it became a subject of contest; both desiring ardently this desperate commission. Chance alone decided it in favor of Tenzane, and he executed it with the most consummate address. Having concealed himself during six weeks in a castle of Auvergne, he then cut off his beard,

1523. The Constable losing all expectation of justice, or of protection from Francis, after so manifest a declaration of his hostile dispositions, returned to his castle of Chaantelle; and being there informed, that four thousand men were on their march to invest him in the place, he quitted it at night, by the light of torches. After having walked to some distance, he contrived to deceive his attendants, and withdrew from them, unobserved. They, attached to their lord in his misfortunes, would not abandon him; and continued during the

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beard, which he had been always accustomed to wear long; and under the disguise of an ecclesiastic, passing thro' Franche-Comté, rejoined his lord safely in the Milanese. The Constable and Pomperant crossed all the county of Burgundy, or Franche-Comté; having only made use of one precaution, that of shoeing their horses backwards: but, they were more than once on the point of being discovered and seized, near Grenoble in Dauphiné.—The Cardinal de la Baume, Abbot of St. Claude in Franche-Comté, gave them an escort, as soon as they arrived on the frontiers of the emperor's dominions. Not daring to pass thro' Switzerland, then in alliance with France, Bourbon was necessitated to go considerably round, thro' Germany, to Trent, from whence he arrived safely at Mantua.

whole

whole night, to follow Francis de Montagnac-  
Tenzane, who had taken his horse and dress, 1523.  
in the belief that it was the Constable himself.  
Day-break shewed them their mistake; and  
Tenzane, then addressing them with tears,  
informed them that their master had taken  
another road; that he thanked them for their  
unshaken fidelity and affection, but, besought  
them to repair to their own houses till farther  
order. Meanwhile, Bourbon continued his  
flight towards the frontiers, only accompanied  
by one gentleman, named Pomperant. He  
soon gained the province of Franche-Comté,  
belonging to the emperor; and from thence  
passing thro' Trent to Mantua, finally arrived  
safe at Genoa. No revolt nor rebellion in  
any part of the kingdom, followed the Con-  
stable's defection; nor does the king seem to  
have made any rigorous inquiries, after the  
accomplices or abettors of Bourbon's in-  
trigues. Sentiments of shame and generosity  
pleading in his bosom, for a meritorious sub-  
ject whom he had oppressed, probably pre-  
vented him from adopting measures of seve-  
rity towards his friends and adherents.

Among

1524. Among these convulsions of the state, died  
July 25. Claude, queen of France. Historians, entirely occupied with the number of battles and public transactions, which diversify this memorable reign, have scarcely deigned to commemorate her decease. She was called, "The good Queen," from her many amiable qualities and virtues: but, her person did not correspond with the beauty of her mind. Like her mother, Anne of Bretagne, she was somewhat lame; and in other respects was little calculated to retain the affections of a husband, gallant, inconstant, and fond of pleasure. Her capacity was moderate, and she neither interfered in affairs of policy, nor possessed any ascendancy over the king. The Countess d'Angoulesme continued to engross the whole authority. The queen's death, if we may believe the contemporary historians, was accelerated, if not entirely occasioned, by a disease which Francis himself communicated to her, and which was the result of his irregular and promiscuous intercourse with women. She expired at the castle of Blois, when only twenty-four years old,

old, after having borne the king seven children\*. 1524. 

Tho' the apprehension of some intestine commotion taking place upon the Constable's flight, prevented the king from entering Italy

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\* Claude, daughter of Louis the twelfth, was born on the 13th of October, 1499. Her amiable and virtuous character, added to the rich province of Bretagne, which she brought with her in marriage to Francis, might have claimed a better treatment than she met with from that Prince. All the historians her contemporaries, unite in paying the highest encomiums to her piety, liberality, courtesy, and sweetness of disposition. She was regarded by the people as a saint, after her decease. The king received the news of her death, as he was preparing for his expedition into Italy; but, it did not prevent his continuing his march.—Brantome, and other authors, assert in the most positive manner, that the king caused her death, by a disorder which he had himself received in the course of his illicit amours, and communicated to her. The repugnance which her mother, Anne of Bretagne, always manifested towards this marriage, was too much justified by Francis's subsequent conduct. If the queen actually died of the distemper asserted, it seems a singular retribution, that the king himself should eventually have fallen a victim, as he did, to the attacks of the same disease.

in

1524. in person at this time ; yet Bonnivet nevertheless, continuing his march over the Alps, reached the Milanese, unopposed by any enemy. If he had immediately pursued the advantages which his unexpected appearance, and the disorder that prevailed among the Imperial troops, afforded him, the whole duchy might have been regained to France : but he neglected these obvious opportunities, till the approach of winter, and the commencement of the plague, which made a rapid progress among his soldiery, obliged him to retire into France. Bourbon, to whom, on his arrival at Genoa, the emperor Charles had confided the supreme command of his armies, in conjunction with Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples, and the Marquis of Pescara ; followed the Admiral with that impetuosity, which was inspired by the natural desire of vengeance on his declared and mortal enemy. Bonnivet, wounded in the arm, and dreading more than death to fall into the Constable's hands, left the Chevalier Bayard, so renowned in the annals of chivalry, to cover the retreat of the French forces ; and putting himself into a litter, arrived

rived safe at Lyons\*. Bayard executed the charge committed to him, with that heroic intre-

1524.

\* It must be impartially admitted, that Bonnivet appears, throughout this whole campaign, to have been still more unfortunate, than blameable. He made a very masterly and judicious disposition, in order to cover the retreat of the French army over the river Sessia, at a time that it had become impossible longer to oppose the passage of the Imperial troops.

When Bourbon and Pescara attempted to attack the Admiral, he placed himself at the head of the rear-guard, as being the post of danger and honour: nor did he quit his station, till he received a wound in the arm from a musket ball, which was attended with a great loss of blood, and totally incapacitated him for the command. He then called the Chevalier Bayard, the Count de St. Pol, and Vandenesse, into his tent; and addressing himself to Bayard, "You see," said he, "that I am no longer in a state either to fight, or to command. I commit the army to your care. Extricate it, if it be possible." "Il est bien tard," answered Bayard, who neither loved nor esteemed the Admiral; "mais n'importe. Mon ame est a Dieu, et ma vie a l'Etat. Je vous promets de sauver l'Armée, au depens de mes jours."—Bonnivet immediately quitted the camp.—The retreat of the French was made in admirable order, by Bayard; and if that celebrated commander had not unfortunately fallen in the

Vol. I. Y discharge

1524. intrepidity which has immortalized his name, but he fell in the execution of it at Romagnano; and after his death, the French having totally evacuated Italy, every place in the Milanese returned to the obedience of the emperor\*.

Animated

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discharge of this commission, the disposition made by Bonnivet, would have been highly applauded. The Imperialists gained neither honour nor trophies. No baggage, nor artillery was lost, and very few soldiers were killed.

\* The Chevalier Bayard, who fell in the service of his country at Romagnano, was one of the most heroic and elevated spirits, who flourished in the ages of chivalry. For, the spirit of chivalry was by no means extinct under Francis the first. Bayard's exploits, his gallantry, his munificence, and his whole character, are more in the spirit of romance, than in the sober genius of history. He descended from a line of warriors, who for four succeeding generations died in battle, at Poitiers, at Azincourt, at Montlhery, and at Guinegate.— Bayard first distinguished himself under the reign of Charles the eighth, at the action of Fornoua; and during the reign of Louis the twelfth, he was present in almost every engagement. At the attack of Brescia by Gaston de Foix, in 1512, he was dangerously wounded. The instances which are related of his hu-  
manity



Animated by these fortunate beginnings, Bourbon was induced to carry the war into Provence. His own intentions were to have penetrated without delay, into the interior provinces of the kingdom of France, where he

1524.

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manity and beneficence, even to his enemies, would excite admiration and astonishment in any age; but, are almost incredible, when we consider the barbarous manner in which war was still carried on, at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The circumstances of his death, which are justly the subject of historical eulogium, have been immortalized by painters and artists. Having received a ball from a Harquebusse, in the reins, he immediately exclaimed, "Jesus, mon Dieu! Je suis mort." He then prepared himself for his approaching dissolution, with that composure and magnanimity, mingled with piety, which characterized all his actions. Holding up his sword before him, to supply the want of a crucifix, he confessed himself to his steward, as no priest was to be found; and comforted his friends and servants, under the loss which they were about to sustain. The duke of Bourbon, arriving on the spot, was affected even to tears, on seeing his condition. But, Bayard, when expiring, made him that memorable reproach: "Weep not for me," said he to the Constable, "I die in the service of my country: you triumph in the ruin of yours; and have far more cause to lament your vic-

F 2

tory,

1524. he expected to have been joined by all his own vassals ; and it is probable that, by following that line of action, he would have thrown the government into great embarrassment. But, Lannoy and Pescara, Charles's generals, attentive only to their master's separate interests, compelled him to embrace other counsels, and laid siege to the city of Marseilles. In adopting this measure, they were unfortunate, or injudicious. The place was so gallantly and obstinately defended ; that after a blockade of six weeks, the Imperial commanders, alarmed at Francis's approach with a considerable army, raised the siege in confusion ; and re-embarking the greater part of their artillery, retreated with expedition across the mountains, into Italy.

The king, naturally sanguine, and easily elated by the favours of fortune ; instead of contenting himself with the important ad-

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“ tory, than my defeat.” His enemies manifested their esteem for his virtues. The Marquis of Pescara paid him all funeral honours, and joined in the general lamentation, which even the soldiers of the Imperial army made, for the death of this illustrious personage.

vantage

vantage which he had obtained over the 1524.  
generals of Charles, determined to follow the  
Constable across the Alps, by forced marches.  
Bonnivet urged him to this rash project, and  
stated to him the defenceless condition of the  
Milanese, together with the precipitate retreat  
of the flying Imperialists\*. His oldest and  
wisest generals, on the other side, opposed

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\* Besides these public reasons, it has been pretended that a private motive, not improbable in a prince of the character of Francis the first, stimulated him to this imprudent and unfortunate march into the Milanese. It is asserted that Bonnivet, who always mixed gallantry with the toils of war, had awakened in his sovereign a desire to visit a beautiful and noble lady of Milan, on whose personal charms he had lavished the highest encomiums: nor is this story so unlikely, or so ill-founded, as at first we might be inclined to suppose. Brantome, who was well acquainted with the intrigues of Francis's court, asserts it in the most positive manner, as a secret known to few. He says, that her name was, "La Signora Clerice," a noble lady of Milan, esteemed one of the finest women in Italy; adding, that Bonnivet, who had obtained from her the last favors, some years before, inspired the king with the same desire. The more we consider the characters of Francis, and of the Admiral, the more are we inclined to attach some credit to this narration.

1524. weighty reasons to dissuade him from so dangerous an enterprize. They represented to him the state of his kingdom, left open to the invasions of the emperor, and of the king of England; the approach of winter, and the advanced season of the year. Louisa of Savoy, as if from a prescience of the calamities which her son's conduct would entail upon France, used every method to prevent his march. As soon as she received notice of his intention to invade Italy, she dispatched three successive couriers to stop him; or, if that change of his determination could not be effected, at least to implore him to wait till she had embraced him, and bade him adieu. The king, equally unaffected by her entreaties, or her remonstrances; ordered her to be informed by the last messenger, that he was too far advanced, to think of suspending his progress; but, that he invested her with the regency during his absence.

Sept. Francis's entry into the Milanese, spread even greater terror, than the invasions of Bonivet and Lautrec had done in former campaigns. Bourbon, pursued in turn by his adversary, and flying before those whom he  
had

had so lately driven, could with difficulty avoid being overtaken. The French followed so close upon his steps, that their troops even entered one of the gates of Milan, only half an hour after he had escaped by another : and if the king had not injudiciously allowed the Imperial forces, time to recover from the consternation into which he had thrown them ; no exertion of military skill in Charles's commanders, could have prevented either their defeat, or their mutiny and separation. Unhappily for France, the Admiral's advice and ascendancy over his sovereign, prevented him from embracing this salutary line of conduct ; and instead of pursuing the enemy without an instant's delay, he prevailed on Francis, in opposition to the general voice of his oldest officers, to undertake the siege of Pavia. 1524.

The vigorous and masterly defence which was made by the celebrated Antonio de Leyva, who commanded in the place ; aggravated by the imprudence of the king, in sending great detachments from his army, for the conquest of Naples, and the reduction of Genoa ; rendered the siege long and difficult. Meanwhile, 1525. Jan.

Y 4

while,

1525. while, the Constable of Bourbon, always active, and stimulated by the desire of approving his zeal in the cause of his new master, the emperor; had levied on his own private credit, twelve thousand veteran Germans, whom he brought to the aid of Lannoy and Pescara, the Imperial commanders. Thus reinforced, they determined immediately to give battle to Francis. If he could have been persuaded to remain patiently in his entrenchments before Pavia, the generals of Charles the fifth must probably have received the severest chastisement for their temerity. But, carried away by the impetuosity of his courage, and by the rash counsels of Bonni-vet, he ventured to march out of his camp, in order to pursue the repulsed and broken Imperialists. His total and entire defeat was the consequence of this injudicious resolution, which involved himself and his kingdom in the most complicated distress. The French army, which only ten years before had triumphed at Marignano, under Francis's command; was totally cut in pieces, or driven out of Italy. Their bravest and ablest generals fell in the  
engage-


engagement; while the king himself remained a prisoner in the hands of Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples. 1525.

The king gave, notwithstanding, in that celebrated engagement, the most distinguished proofs of personal intrepidity; nor was it to any defect of that nature, that his misfortunes are to be imputed. The number and the quality of those whom he killed with his own hand, are incontestible evidences of this assertion\*. His armor likewise rendered him distinguished in the field, by its richness and splendor; whereas Bourbon, more cautious and circumspect, fought in the habit of a private Cavalier, having given the command of his troop to Pomperant. Even when thrown from his horse, wounded in many places, exhausted in strength, and almost deserted by his followers, Francis continued to defend himself with the most desperate valor; till

Feb.  
24.

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\* In the beginning of the engagement, the king killed Ferdinand Castriot, Marquis of Saint Ange, who was the grandson of the famous Scanderbeg, and last descendant of the kings of Albania. Five other persons fell by his own hand, during the action.

1525.  two Spanish gentlemen, named Diego d'Avila, and Juan d'Orbieta, put their swords to his throat. In this exigency, a follower of Bourbon's, named La Mothe de Noyers, arrived on the spot; and recognizing the king, though his face was covered with blood, caused by a deep wound which he had received across his forehead, called out to him to surrender to the Constable, who was not far distant from the place: but, disdaining to deliver up his sword to a man whom he regarded as a traitor, he refused, and demanded to see Lannoy. While La Mothe anxiously searched every part of the field, in hopes to find his lord; the viceroy of Naples coming up, received Francis's submission. The king immediately delivered his sword to him, which Lannoy accepted on his knee; and having kissed Francis's hand, presented him another sword. His arrival at the precise time when the king surrendered, was considered as peculiarly fortunate for his royal captive; since Bourbon would certainly have taken him by force, from any person in the army, of inferior authority or distinction to Lannoy.

Diego d'Avila first pulled off his gauntlets,  
and



and the surrounding crowd despoiled him of 1525.  
his coat of mail, his belt, and spurs. Mean-  
while the Marquis del Guasto, one of the  
Imperial generals, approaching the king,  
saluted him with great respect ; and Francis  
requesting with peculiar earnestness, that he  
might not be led into the city of Pavia,  
as an object of curiosity to the inhabitants,  
the Marquis conducted him to his own tent.  
The wounds that he had received in the ac-  
tion, were inspected, and carefully dressed ;  
of which, one very deep wound was near his  
eyebrow, another in his leg, and a third, in  
his right hand. Besides these, he had re-  
ceived several balls from a Harquebusse, in his  
cuirass ; and a most severe contusion, from  
the fall of his horse upon him, when the  
animal was killed by one of those balls.

The Marquis del Guasto had the honor to sup  
with him, and the Constable of Bourbon pre-  
sented the napkin to his majesty. The Spa-  
nish historians declare that he received it very  
graciously, and even permitted the Constable  
to kiss his hand on the knee : while the French  
writers assert the contrary ; pretending that  
Francis turned his back on him with con-  
tempt,

1525. tempt, and would not accept the napkin from him. During his repast, the discourse naturally turning on the past action; Francis, with equal modesty, propriety, and perspicuity, pointed out the causes which had conduced to its loss; imputing it chiefly to the cowardice of the auxiliary Swiss and Italian troops in his army. When he retired to rest, none of his attendants being near his person, to assist him to undress; the *Sieur de Montpezat*, a gentleman of the province of *Quercy*, who had been made prisoner by a Spanish soldier, presented himself to perform that office. The king, pleased with his assiduity and attention, retained him near his person, redeemed him from captivity, and raised him afterwards to the dignity of a *Marechal of France*.

Many great commanders perished on that memorable day; of which number, *Lescun* and *Bonnivet* were among the chief\*. The latter

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\* The old *Marechal de Chabannes*, who had been distinguished in every battle under *Charles the eighth*, and *Louis the twelfth*; having had his horse killed under him in this action, was made prisoner, while he fought

latter expiated in some measure, his imprudent advice, by the intrepidity with which he

1525.

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fought on foot, by Castaldo, who commanded the Neapolitan cavalry under the Marquis of Pescara.—As Castaldo was conducting him to a place of safety, he was met by a Spanish captain, named Buzarto; who judging by the richness of the coat of mail which the Marechal wore, that he was a prisoner of distinction, demanded of Castaldo to be associated to the profit of his prize. A dispute arising on this subject, and Castaldo persisting to refuse any participation of his captive's ransom; Buzarto, with the most atrocious inhumanity, shot the unhappy Marechal with a Harquebusse, and laid him dead at his feet.

The Bastard of Savoy, natural brother to Louisa, Francis's mother, fell in this memorable battle, covered with wounds. He was found after a long search, buried under a heap of dead bodies; and as he still retained some signs of life, he was carried to Pavia. But, all the art of surgery only sufficed to prolong his existence for a few days, and to make him expire in the most acute sufferings.

The Count de Saint Pol, a prince of the blood royal of France, was saved by a very singular accident. He was left on the field, deprived of his senses from loss of blood, and mingled with the dead. A Spanish soldier, who was employed in stripping and plundering the bodies of those who had fallen in the battle, attempted to tear away a valuable ring, which the Count de Saint Pol wore on his finger: but, not being able to effect it,

he

1525. he devoted himself to death. Seeing the fortune of the battle waver, and the troops disposed

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he drew out a knife, with intent to cut off the finger itself. The pain and effusion of blood, brought the Count to life. Recovering his senses, he informed the soldier of his name and quality; warning him to conceal that a prince of the blood of France was his prisoner, as the imperial commanders would undoubtedly take him away by force, from a common soldier. In addition to this advice, he joined the promise of a considerable ransom, if the soldier concealed, and conducted him safely to France. Induced by these motives, the man followed the Count's directions, conveyed him to Pavia; and as soon as his wounds permitted him to mount on horseback, he attended the Count de Saint Pol into France, and received the recompense of his services.

Richard de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, descended by females from the royal house of Plantagenet, who had long wandered in exile, fell likewise on that memorable day. He commanded the corps of five thousand men, originally raised by the duke of Gueldres, in 1515, and surnamed "The Black Bands." The duke of Suffolk was suffocated under a heap of dead bodies.

The Marechal de Montmorenci, so celebrated afterwards in the history of France, tho' he was not in the action, was made prisoner; having been detached on the evening preceding the battle, to Saint Lazaro.

He


posed to fly, he attempted to rally the Swiss bands, and a body of cavalry. But, not being able to succeed, and no hope of victory, or even of retreat remaining, he raised the vizor of his helmet, that he might be uni- 1525.

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He immediately returned, on hearing the firing between the two armies ; but before he could reach the scene of action, a corps of the Imperial troops surrounded, and made him captive.

Lescun, commonly called the Marechal de Foix, had received a wound from a ball during the action, which shattered his arm and shoulder. He was not less the declared and inveterate enemy of Bonnivet, than was the Constable of Bourbon himself. Exhausted with the loss of blood, and conscious that he was mortally wounded, Lescun became furious with resentment against the Admiral ; whom he regarded as the fatal adviser of Francis, and as the cause of all the calamities of his country. Only anxious to punish him before his own death, he sought Bonnivet over all the field ; fully determined to plunge his sword into the bosom of that ill-fated man, and to enjoy the pleasure of having sacrificed him, before he expired himself. His strength, however, soon abandoned him. Falling from his horse, he was made prisoner, and carried to Pavia, to the house of the Countess Scarsafiore ; a lady to whom he had been attached. His wounds were incurable. He languished some days, and expired in her arms.

versally

1525.  versally known ; then rushing into the thickest ranks of the enemy, opposed his breast to their swords, and fell covered with honorable wounds. Bourbon had given express orders to take him alive, if possible ; and in case that it should not be possible, in that event, to kill him ; but, in no case to let him escape. After the engagement, his body was found ; and the Constable standing over it, after having considered it long in silence, is said to have only exclaimed, “ Ah ! malheureux ! “ Tu es cause de la ruine de la France, et de “ la mienne !\* ”

The

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\* Nothing can have been more heroic, than the death of Bonnivet, in which was displayed all the haughtiness and despair of an elevated mind. The death of Richard the third at Bosworth, is, of all the facts in our history, that which seems to bear the closest resemblance to it. Richard and Bonnivet equally perceived that all was lost, and that their only refuge from disgrace, was an honorable death. Bonnivet having been separated from the king, by the violent shock of the German Lansquenets, who threw him out of the scene of action and danger, might with ease have saved himself. But, he disdained to preserve his life ; and casting a melancholy look on the field of battle, he cried out, “ Non !

“ Je

The duke of Alençon, on the contrary, <sup>1525.</sup>  
 who had married the princess Margaret of  
 Valois, sister of Francis; and from whom,  
 as a prince of the blood of France, actions  
 corresponding with his birth and dignity  
 might have been expected; conducted him-  
 self in a manner the most dishonorable.  
 Taking to flight among the first who turned  
 their backs, he retired to Lyons, with a num-  
 ber of the nobility, where he expiated his of-  
 fence in a few days, by dying of grief and  
 shame\*. The king of Navarre, Henry d'Al-  
 bret

“Je ne puis survivre a un pareil desastre!” He pre-  
 sented his throat to the swords of the Lansquenets, only  
 anxious to meet an honorable death. The Constable  
 of Bourbon’s resentment, which was, it must be owned,  
 too justly founded; subsided at the sight of his bloody,  
 and disfigured remains.

\* Charles, the last duke of Alençon, commanded the  
 left wing of the French army, at the battle of Pavia.  
 How injudiciously Francis acted, in entrusting to him  
 so important a command, is evident; as well as in fol-  
 lowing his advice, when an opportunity presented itself  
 of attacking the emperor in person, near Valenciennes,  
 in 1521, which he did in contradiction to the Constable  
 Bourbon’s opinion. The duke of Alençon was the first  
 prince of the blood royal, being descended from Philip

1525.  bret, remained a prisoner in the hands of the Imperialists\*.

Lannoy

the Bold, king of France ; and had been married on the 9th of October, 1509, to the celebrated Margaret of Valois, only sister of Francis. No part of his preceding life or conduct, had given cause to distrust his personal courage. La Roche du Maine, his lieutenant, as well as the Baron de Trans, having in vain conjured him, by every possible motive of honor, and of loyalty, to lead on the left wing, which might still have changed the fortune of the day ; and finding the duke inflexibly determined to sound a retreat, they both quitted him, and threw themselves into the thickest squadrons of the enemy, where La Roche du Maine was made prisoner. The duke of Alençon survived his own dishonor, only a very short time. When he reached Lyons, where the court had remained since Francis's departure, he was treated with the most mortifying contempt by his wife, and upbraided with the severest reproaches by Louisa of Savoy. Incapable of sustaining this humiliating reception, and overcome by his own remorse, he sunk under such accumulated dishonor, and expired at Lyons, within two months from the defeat of Pavia. Leaving no issue by Margaret of Valois, his wife, in him became extinct the branch of Alençon.

\* The young king of Navarre, Henry d'Albret, was made prisoner by the Marquis of Pescara, who confined him in the castle of Pavia, and refused a hundred thousand



Lannoy meanwhile, tho' victorious over the French forces, was in the utmost anxiety how to dispose of his royal captive. The day after the action, he conducted Francis to the castle

1525.

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thousand crowns, which Henry offered, to obtain his liberty. It is probable, that Charles the fifth, from motives of policy, would never have consented to ransom a prince, whose predecessor had been unjustly despoiled of his dominions by Ferdinand of Arragon, his own grandfather. Conscious of the impossibility of procuring his release from the generosity of the emperor, or of his general, Pescara; Henry had recourse to stratagem, and corrupted two of his guards, who favored his escape. Vivés his page, who had access to his person, came into his apartment, under pretence of assisting to dress him: the king of Navarre having then put on his page's clothes, under this disguise, passed out of the castle, without being discovered by the guards. Horses were prepared for him, and he had the good fortune to reach the territories of Savoy, unpursued. Vivés, meanwhile, having got into his master's bed, pretended at first to sleep; and afterwards, under pretext of being indisposed, he kept the curtains close drawn till evening. The deceit was at length discovered; but, too late to prevent the king of Navarre from escaping out of the Milanese. Henry d'Albret was married in January, 1527, to Margaret of Valois, widow of Charles, duke of Alençon; by whom he had one daughter, Jane d'Albret, who was queen of Navarre in her own right, and mother to Henry the fourth, king of France.

1525. of Pizzighitonè, where he remained for two months, under the care of Don Fernand Alarçon. No positive orders arriving at the end of that time, from the emperor's council in Spain, for his removal to another fortress; the viceroy of Naples became more apprehensive of some accident, which might procure or terminate in his enlargement. The Imperial troops having scarcely received any pay, during several months, were disposed to mutiny, and might easily seize on Francis's person, in order to ensure their arrears. To carry him to the castle of Naples, where he might have been securely detained, was a much more eligible plan; but, Lannoy dreaded lest the Pope or the Venetians might attempt to rescue the king, while upon the road. It was still more hazardous to attempt to send him into Spain by sea, because the Genoese gallies, commanded by Andrea Doria, and those of France, were stationed to intercept his passage.

Lannoy's address extricated him nevertheless, from these numerous difficulties. He found means to engage the king to adopt those measures of his own accord, which otherwise it would have been difficult or impossible

1525.

to execute ; and persuaded him that a personal interview with Charles, was the speediest method of terminating so weighty an affair, as well as of procuring his freedom. Francis, who, from the magnanimity of his own character, was led to conceive that the emperor possessed a mind equally liberal ; eagerly caught at this insidious proposal, and fell into the snare. To such a height of punctilious honor did he carry his sentiments, that he even personally opposed a sedition among the Imperial soldiery, of which a prince less scrupulous, might have taken advantage to procure his freedom ; and he not only commanded Doria to make no attempt on the Spanish vessels which were appointed to conduct him from Italy, but ordered the regent his mother to lend seven gallees to Lannoy. About the middle of June, having set sail from Portofiero, they safely arrived at Alicante. The king was brought under a strong guard to Madrid, and there lodged in the castle\*.

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\* It was by the most consummate exertion of artifice and policy, that Lannoy was enabled to execute the

1525.

Francis was the third French sovereign of the Capetian line, who by the chance of war, had

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project of conducting Francis to Madrid. Bourbon, and the Marquis of Pescara, were equally averse to transporting him into Spain; as by that means he ceased to be their prisoner, and became more immediately the captive of the emperor. Lannoy, conscious of this difficulty, deceived the two generals, by pretending only to conduct Francis to the castle of Naples, where he would be securely guarded. Montmorenci was dispatched by the king to Marseilles, with directions to the regent Louisa, to give him the command of seven galleys, and to disarm the rest. It was settled that Francis should embark with Lannoy, on board one of the seven French galleys; which, as a necessary precaution, were to be surrounded with sixteen Imperial galleys. Bourbon and Pescara, deceived by the viceroy of Naples, acquiesced in all these arrangements, and permitted him to carry off his prisoner. Lannoy appeared, during the first two days, to steer for Naples; but, stopping at Porto Veneré, and being there joined by Montmorenci with the French galleys, he then openly made sail for the coast of Spain. Francis had the mortification to pass in sight of the islands of Hières, on the coast of Provence; and beheld his own dominions, without being able to land in them. A sedition arose among the soldiery, on his arrival at Alicant; and after having with menaces demanded their arrears from Lannoy, which he was unable to discharge,

had fallen into the hands of a foreign enemy <sup>1525.</sup>  
in battle, within the space of three hundred  
years.

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discharge, they proceeded to acts of the most outrageous violence. They even fired on the house where Francis and the viceroy resided. Lannoy instantly fled by a postern; while the king, who had very narrowly escaped being killed or wounded by the balls which entered his apartment, advanced to meet the mutinous soldiery, distributed some money among them, and by his expostulations, induced them to return to their obedience.

Meanwhile, the emperor, to whom Lannoy had not communicated his resolution of transporting Francis into Spain; equally surprized and delighted at the masterly address of the viceroy, ordered his prisoner to be treated with every honor due to his high rank. But, at the same time, Charles caused him to be transferred to the fortress of Sciativa, in the kingdom of Valencia; a castle anciently appropriated by the kings of Arragon, to the confinement of prisoners of state. Lannoy, leaving Francis under the custody of Don Fernand Alarçon, hastened to Madrid, where Charles received him with all possible demonstrations of honor and satisfaction. Fearful, however, of his prisoner being rescued, if he was suffered to remain in a maritime province, and desirous to remove him to a distance from the sea-coast, Charles gave directions to conduct the king to Madrid. The Constable and Pescara burst into the

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wildest

1525. years. Louis the ninth had been made prisoner by the Saracens, at Damietta in Egypt, about the middle of the thirteenth century. But, the consternation which Francis's defeat and captivity spread thro'out the whole kingdom, is equalled by no event in the French annals, except the capture of John, king of France, at the battle of Poitiers. Louisa, his mother, on receiving the intelligence, the effect of which was aggravated by the recollection of her reiterated, but ineffectual efforts to stop his march over the Alps; frequently exclaimed, "He would not believe me! Alas! "I had predicted all this to him!" Oppressed, as she felt herself, by the personal sensations of a parent; and conscious that she was in

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wildest transports of resentment and indignation, when they found how much they had been deceived by Lannoy, who had made them even accessory and subservient to his own private views. Bourbon followed the viceroy to Madrid, where he accused Lannoy to their common master, of cowardice, incapacity, and treachery. The emperor appears, however, to have paid little attention to these complaints and accusations, against a man from whom he had received so signal a service.

great

great measure the original cause of these mis- 1525.  
fortunes, by her malevolent and unjust per-  
secution of Bourbon; unpopular, and holding  
the regency in this convulsion of the state,  
by a tenure the most precarious; Louisa  
nevertheless sustained the firmness of her  
mind. She even atoned in some degree for  
her past errors, by the wisdom, vigor, and  
magnanimity of her measures. Henry the  
eighth, the republic of Venice, and Clement  
the seventh, who then filled the holy see, were  
all induced to quit the alliance of the emperor,  
in consequence of her remonstrances or solici-  
tations. Negotiating in every court, and  
moving all the springs which can actuate  
statesmen, or politicians, she labored inces-  
santly to effect her son's release.

During these endeavors of the regent,  
Francis, immured in the castle of Madrid,  
had time to discover and to repent of the  
error, into which he had been led by his mis-  
taken calculations of the generosity and honor  
of his enemy. Instead of the interview with  
the emperor, which had been promised him  
by Lannoy; instead of treating with his con-  
queror, as from gentleman to gentleman;  
instead

1525. instead of that courteous and friendly reception which he had expected, and which every part of his own conduct, subsequent to the battle of Pavia, had entitled him to receive ; he found a solitary prison, guards inexorably vigilant, and a confinement unusually severe, as well as rigorous\*. Charles did not even  
deign

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\* Soon after the reception in Spain, of the intelligence of the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of Francis, it was debated in a council, where the emperor presided, on what terms he should liberate his prisoner ; and what was the line of conduct which it would be prudent to observe towards the king of France. The bishop of Osma, Charles's confessor, with a magnanimity of mind truly elevated, advised his sovereign to set Francis free, without exacting any ransom ; concluding at the same time such a treaty with him, as equity, generosity, and honor would dictate, and would even cement. But, the duke of Alva, who treated with ridicule these sentiments, represented them as incompatible with, and contradictory to, every maxim of wise policy. His advice having prevailed in the Spanish cabinet, in consequence the emperor dispatched Beaurain to Francis, then a prisoner in the castle of Piz-zighitonè ; proposing conditions nearly resembling those, which afterwards formed the treaty of Madrid. The immediate and absolute cession of the province of

Bur-



deign to visit him in his captivity ; and the only recreation permitted him, was to take the air on a mule, surrounded with soldiers. This ungenerous treatment shewn towards his prisoner, which the emperor continued during six months, threw the king into a fever, the effect of disappointment and vexation. 1525.

The arrival of Margaret, duchess of Alençon, his sister, to whom the emperor had granted the permission of visiting Francis in

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Burgundy, on the part of Francis, constituted the leading article of the propositions made by the emperor. The renunciation of Francis's claims on the Milanese, and on the kingdom of Naples ; as well as the re-establishment of the Constable of Bourbon in all his rights, to which were to be added the two provinces of Dauphiné and Provence, as an independent sovereignty ; formed likewise an important part of the projected treaty. Francis, tho' in a condition the most unfortunate, rejected with indignation these hard propositions. On his arrival at Madrid, the emperor therefore caused it to be signified to him, that it was not proper for them to see each other, till they had agreed on the conditions of the treaty ; while the king was left to regret the credulity with which he had listened to the promises and assurances of Lannoy ; as well as the too favorable opinion which he had entertained, of the generosity and magnanimity of the emperor.

this

1525. this distressful situation, conduced principally to his recovery. Charles himself, at length ashamed of his cruel insensibility, and alarmed lest his prisoner's death might deprive him of the vast advantages, which he doubted not to derive from Francis's release, condescended to make him a short, consolatory visit; in which he affected to express the utmost commiseration, and gave him hopes of speedy freedom\*.

These

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\* Gattinara, the emperor's chancellor, with sentiments of honor and delicacy that convey a high idea of his character; represented to his master, that if, after having so long declined and refused to grant a personal interview to his prisoner, he should visit Francis during his illness, it would be attributed to motives and feelings unworthy of so great a monarch. But, Charles, only apprehensive of losing his prize by death, and determined to limit his concessions to expressions of general consolation, persisted in his resolution to see the king. When the emperor entered the apartment, Francis, first breaking silence, said, "Your Imperial majesty is then come to see your prisoner expire?" "You are not my prisoner," answered the emperor, "but, my friend and brother; nor have I any other intention than to grant you your liberty, and every other satisfaction that you can desire."—These assurances, and the behavior of Charles during the remainder

These fallacious expectations vanished with the king's return of health ; and, in despair of ever regaining his liberty, except on conditions so humiliating and ignominious, as to preclude him from any acceptance of them, he entrusted to his sister on her return, a formal deed, by which he resigned his kingdom to the Dauphin Francis, his eldest son. Margaret carried this act of abdication into France\*.

1525.

Charles,

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mainder of his visit, produced a rapid, as well as favorable alteration, in the state of Francis's health ; but it was no sooner re-established, than the emperor resumed all his former coldness and inflexibility. It is impossible not to contrast such treatment, with the courteous and noble behavior of the Black Prince, towards John, king of France, his prisoner, in a century far less civilized. A hundred and seventy years had nearly elapsed, between the two battles of Poitiers and of Pavia.

\* Margaret of Valois was received by the emperor on her arrival at Madrid, with every possible demonstration of respect, and even of affection. He appeared to take a peculiar pleasure in her conversation, and flattered her with expectations of her brother's speedy release.—But, all these appearances were illusory and deceptive. The time which was limited to the safe conduct

1526.  
  
 Jan.

Charles, induced at length, not by sentiments of generosity or greatness of mind, but from motives of interest and narrow policy ; influenced by his knowledge of the state of the Milanese, which had been left defenceless in consequence of the death of the Marquis of Pescara\* ; and finding a powerful league  
 formed

conduct of the duchess of Alençon, being nearly expired, she was necessitated to return into France. The king, resigning all hopes of procuring his release, except on terms so destructive to his kingdom, and so dishonorable to himself, that continual imprisonment appeared preferable to such an act of degradation ; commanded Montmorenci and Brion to repair to his son the Dauphin, and to assist him with their counsels ; while he himself, renouncing the crown of France, remained a prisoner in the emperor's hands. A greater instance of magnanimity is, perhaps, scarcely to be found in history ; since Francis, by this act relinquished both his throne and his liberty, in order to save his people, and to prevent the dismemberment of his dominions.

\* The Marquis of Pescara was one of the most illustrious commanders, who adorned the reign, and advanced the glory, of Charles the fifth.—He had been distinguished in every engagement from his earliest youth, and had acquired the highest military reputation at the time of his death. The victory of Pavia

was

formed among the states of Europe, for the 1526.  
 release of Francis ; entered seriously into a  
 treaty with him. Even then, he did not re-  
 lax the rigor of his demands ; tho' Gattinara,  
 his chancellor, foretold to him their certain  
 violation, and refused, with firmness, to affix  
 to them the seals. The marriage of Francis  
 with Charles's sister, Eleanor, widow of  
 Emanuel, king of Portugal, formed the ce- Feb.  
 ment of this famous treaty : but, the restitu-  
 tion of the province of Burgundy to the em-  
 peror, was an article so injurious to the state,

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was in a great degree due to his talents and abilities, even by the testimony of Francis the first himself. Previous to his decease, he had listened to propositions, and even entered into engagements, highly derogatory to his allegiance to the emperor. It is asserted by the contemporary historians, that the object of this conspiracy, was no less than to place the crown of Naples on his own head : but, Pescara, either from perfidy, or from loyalty, deserting his friends, revealed the whole transaction to Charles. This duplicity, when added to the ambiguity of the motives which influenced his conduct in betraying his accomplices, have left a stain upon his memory, difficult to efface. Pescara died, while engaged in the siege of Milan, at the age of only thirty-six years.

1526. as well as so vast a defalcation of the French dominions ; that the king protested against it in private, according to the forms of law, previous to his departure from Madrid\*.

After

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\* Tho' we must allow the insufficiency of any concealed and private protestations on the part of Francis, to impugn the validity of a public treaty, or to justify its violation ; yet, much is to be said in palliation of the conduct of the king of France, upon this point, from a consideration of the circumstances under which he signed the treaty of Madrid. The long imprisonment which he had undergone, and the ungenerous treatment which he had received ; if added to the nature of the principal article, which, as it supposed the consent of the states of Burgundy, might be beyond the power of Francis, as king of France, to fulfil ;—all these combined facts operate strongly in diminishing the degree of condemnation, which we might otherwise affix to the evasion of so solemn an act of state.

Charles the fifth himself appears to have foreseen and expected that his prisoner, when liberated, would no longer adhere to, nor execute the hard conditions which he signed. His conduct towards Francis, even a few days previous to the release of the latter prince, evidently proves the conflict of his mind, and his irresolution. Gattinara persisting in his determination not to affix the seals to so unwise and rigorous a treaty, Charles sealed it himself, with his own hand : but, instead of  
imme-

After a captivity of near thirteen months <sup>1526.</sup>  
 from the battle of Pavia, he was re-conducted <sup>March</sup>  
 by his two keepers, Lannoy and Alarçon, to <sup>18:</sup>  
 the bank of the river Bidassoa, near Fonta-  
 rabia, on the frontiers of the two kingdoms:

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immediately liberating his captive, as the articles expressly stipulated, he detained the king above a month in prison, after every form of the negotiation had been fulfilled. Francis, overcome by this new delay, and incapable of sustaining the continual procrastination of his hopes; relapsed into his former disorder; which, by alarming the emperor, procured his release.

On the morning after a violent paroxysm of his fever, the king was not a little surprized at seeing Lannoy enter his apartment, and approach his bed-side, in boots and a travelling dress, to perform the ceremony of his espousals with Eleanor, the emperor's sister. This act was immediately executed by proxy, tho' the princess herself was at the time resident in Spain, and at only four leagues from Madrid:

Charles having then visited the king, the two princes went in the emperor's coach, to wait on the princess Eleanor. Every mark of mutual confidence, and even of affection, succeeded to the severity with which Francis had been so long treated. The Marechal de Montmorenci was dispatched into France, to the regent Louisa, to announce to her the conclusion of the treaty; and to name Bayonne as the place where her son expected her immediate presence.

1526. while Lautrec brought to the opposite side, the King's two eldest sons; the Dauphin Francis, and his brother Henry, duke of Orleans, who were to be delivered up into Charles's hands, as hostages for the due execution of the treaty. The exchange being immediately made, Francis once more entered his kingdom\*. At Bayonne he found his mother

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\* Every circumstance relative to the exchange of Francis the first and his two sons, is of a nature strongly calculated to excite the curiosity, and to awaken the attention, of the human mind. Few similar events occur in history. No precaution of jealous policy appears to have been omitted in the transaction of this affair. On the day appointed by both crowns, a large boat was fixed at anchor, in the midst of the river Bidassoa. Francis, accompanied by Lannoy, and escorted by Alarçon, with fifty horse, appeared on the western bank; when Lautrec, conducting the princes of France, arrived on the opposite side, with the same number of attendants. Each party, at the same moment, accompanied only by eight men completely armed, embarking in two small boats, reached the bark which was moored in the centre of the stream. The exchange was made without any delay; Francis passing into the boat of Lautrec, and the two young princes into that of Lannoy, which conducted them to the respective banks.—It is matter of astonish-



mother Louisa, his sister Margaret, and a <sup>1526.</sup>  
 numerous court, who anxiously waited for his  
 arrival. The Countess d'Angoulesme, who  
 knew the characteristic weakness of her son,  
 and his disposition to gallantry, had prepared  
 for him fetters of a softer nature than those,  
 which he had lately experienced at Madrid.  
 She presented to him the celebrated Made-

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astonishment, that no contemporary historian should  
 have commemorated, or mentioned the effect, which the  
 sight of his two children, whom he tenderly loved, must  
 have produced in the bosom of the king their father ;  
 peculiarly, under the circumstances of their being de-  
 livered up as hostages to the emperor, in order to pro-  
 cure his own release. Are we to infer, that even the  
 sentiments of paternal affection were suspended, or ob-  
 literated for the time, by the joy that he felt at escaping  
 from the prison of Madrid, where he had more than  
 once expected to terminate his life ? It is certain, that  
 he no sooner reached his own dominions, than, mount-  
 ing a Turkish horse, which waited for him, he gal-  
 loped, without stopping, or even looking behind him,  
 to the town of St. Jean de Luz ; often waving his bon-  
 net in the air, and repeating, " I am still a king !"—  
 Having taken some slight refreshment at St. Jean de  
 Luz, he continued his route to Bayonne the same day,  
 where his mother and all the court impatiently expected  
 his arrival.

1526.  moiselle de Heilly, better known in history under the title of duchess d'Estampes. Her age at this time did not exceed eighteen years: the beauty of her person, which was the most delicate and perfect, her winning address, and her understanding, improved by all the cultivation of the times, ensured her conquest over the king. He became passionately attached to her, and their connexion lasted in its full force during the remainder of his life\*.

The

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\* Anne de Pisseleu, afterwards created duchess d'Estampes, was daughter to William Pisseleu, Seigneur de Heilly. She was born about the year 1508, and received the most finished education which the age permitted. Having been admitted into the service of Louisa of Savoy, Francis's mother, during the king's imprisonment in Spain; she accompanied the regent to Bayonne, where Francis first saw, and became enamoured of her. The immediate consequence of his attachment to his new mistress, was the cessation of his intercourse with the Countess of Chateau-Briant; to whom, previous to his capture, he had been long attached.—The king, in the following year, 1527, gave Mademoiselle de Heilly in marriage to John de Brosse; whose father René had been an accomplice in the revolt and flight of the Constable of Bourbon, and who was killed

The re-entry of Francis into his dominions, 1526.  
forms a new era in his reign.

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killed at the battle of Pavia.—The confiscated estates of the family, were all restored to John de Brosse ; and the king, besides creating him duke d'Estampes, conferred on him the order of St. Michael, and made him governor of Bretagne.—His marriage, which was merely a ceremony, did not prevent the duchess d'Estampes from openly occupying the first place in the affections and favor of the king, during the remainder of his reign. She was suspected of secretly protecting, and adhering to the doctrines of Luther ; a suspicion, which equally extended to Francis's sister, Margaret, queen of Navarre. The rivalry, and mutual animosity, which took place between the duchess d'Estampes and Diana de Poitiers, who was mistress to the Dauphin Henry, afterwards Henry the second ; embittered and disgraced the last years of the reign of Francis the first. In historical celebrity, the duchess d'Estampes never attained to the same elevation, as Agnes Soreille, her predecessor, the mistress of Charles the seventh, has done ; nor to that which was enjoyed by Gabrielle d'Etrees, the mistress of Henry the fourth.

## CHAP. VII.

*Violation of the Treaty of Madrid.—Renewal of the war between Francis and the Emperor.—Sack of Rome.—Death of Charles of Bourbon.—Unsuccessful expedition against Naples.—Death of Lautrec.—Peace of Cambray.—Release of the Dauphin, and Duke of Orleans.—Magnificence of the King.—Death of his mother, Louisa.—Interview of Marseilles.—Marriage of Henry duke of Orleans, to Catherine of Medici.—War renewed.—The Emperor invades Provence.—Death of Francis, the Dauphin.—Circumstances of it.—His character.—Reflections.—Retreat of the Emperor into Italy.—Marriage of James the fifth, King of Scotland, to the princess Magdalen.—Character of the Constable de Montmorenci.—Interviews of Nice, and of Aigues-Mortes.—Francis's amours, illness, and consequent change of character.—Passage of the Emperor thro' France.—Alteration in the ministry.—Third war.—Description of the Court of Francis.—Battle of Cerizoles.—Invasion of Picardy by the Emperor.—Political intrigues of the Duchess d'Estampes.—Conclusion of Peace.—Death of Charles, Duke of Orleans.—Circumstances attending it.—His character.*

*character.—Death of the Count d'Enguien.—Parties formed in the court.—Illness of Francis.—Circumstances of it.—His last admonitions to the Dauphin.—His death.—Character.*

FRANCIS the first was still in the 1526.  
 prime of life, when, by the termination of his imprisonment, he saw himself again restored to his throne and people. His misfortunes, and consequent captivity, tho' they had not made so deep an impression on him, as radically to alter his character ; yet rendered him, during the remainder of his reign, more circumspect and cautious in his conduct. The rash and impetuous valor by which he had been hitherto distinguished, gave place to temperate policy. Instructed by reverses, he became sensible that the interests of the state, compelled him to adopt measures better adapted than his preceding ones, to counteract the designs of the emperor, his antagonist. These changes were nevertheless only desultory, or precarious in their operation over his general system of government. His magnificence, always accompanied with profusion ; his unrestrained attachment and libe-  
 A a 4 rality

1526.  rality to favourites; his passion for all the luxurious dissipations of a court: these errors, which still characterized him in their utmost extent, by introducing confusion into his finances, as well as disorder thro' every department of the administration; gave Charles a superiority in the affairs of war, and involved France in numberless misfortunes.

So oppressive and severe were the conditions of the treaty of Madrid universally considered, that the king, conscious that his infringement of them would be approved and defended throughout all Europe, no sooner recovered his freedom, than he determined no longer to submit to them. With this resolution, he began by declaring to Lannoy, who had accompanied him in order to demand their execution; that Burgundy, being a part, not of the royal domain, but of the kingdom itself, could not be alienated or dismembered by any exertion of the regal authority; adding, that he held himself not bound by his late oaths, as they were compulsory, and the effect of necessity. Having proceeded to make other offers to Charles, with a view to procure the release of his children, and for the settle-

settlement of a final peace ; he instantly prepared himself to exert new military efforts, to compel the emperor to the acceptance of these proposals. So much jealousy or alarm had the victory of Pavia diffused among the states of the continent, augmented by the ungenerous abuse of the rights of conquest, which Francis had experienced at Madrid ; that a great league was speedily formed for the reduction of a power, which threatened the annihilation of every other. It was concluded at the castle of Cognac in Angoumois, to which place the king had retired for the recovery of his health, and the enjoyment of the pleasures of the chace. The states, confederated with France, were Henry the eighth, the Swiss Cantons, the Pope, the Venetians, and Florence. Even Sforza, Duke of Milan, renouncing his dependence on Spain, joined the coalition\*.

1526.

May.

If

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\* The king had no sooner reached Bayonne, than he refused to ratify the treaty of Madrid. His first attention was to conciliate the friendship of Henry the eighth, to whom he immediately addressed a letter, full of the warmest testimonies of affection. The vice-roy

1526. If their combined forces had vigorously attacked the Milanese without delay, destitute as it was either of troops or commanders, that Duchy must have been inevitably re-conquered: but, an inattention to these

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roy of Naples, who had remained at Vittoria in Biscay, with the new queen, Eleanor of Portugal, and the princes of France; having received the emperor's orders, waited on Francis at Cognac, accompanied by Moncade, and Don Fernand d'Alarçon, to summon him to fulfil his engagements. The king, tho' he treated these noblemen with every possible mark of distinction, yet persisted in his refusal to ratify the conditions; and the deputies of the states of Burgundy confirmed this determination, in presence of the ambassadors, by declaring the province incapable of being alienated from the kingdom of France. Charles, on receiving this intelligence, immediately transferred the Dauphin and the duke of Orleans to Valladolid, reproached the king with the violation of his oath, and summoned him to return into captivity; but, at the same time ordered his ministers to remain in France, and to try the effect of negotiation. The league of Cognac was signed on the 22d of May, 1526, and the Pope was declared its head. To the Italian powers originally confederated, were subsequently added the Switzers, and the king of England; which latter prince was decorated with the title of its protector.

manifest



manifest advantages, equally extraordinary 1526.  
 and blameable, afforded Bourbon time to  
 arrive in Italy, and Lannoy leisure to pro- 1527.  
 vide for the safety of Naples. The former  
 of these generals, to whom Charles had pro-  
 mised the investiture of the Milanese, as an  
 independent sovereignty; after having com-  
 pelled Sforza to surrender the castle of Milan,  
 and having exhausted every art in order to  
 satisfy the murmurs of his soldiery, discon-  
 tented for want of pay; took the daring and  
 desperate resolution of marching against  
 Rome\*. Unrestrained by any consideration  
 for

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\* Tho' Francisco Sforza held out the castle of Milan for a considerable time, against the Marquis of Pescara; and after the death of that general, continued to defend himself against Antonio de Leyva, and the Marquis del Guasto, the two imperial commanders; yet the city of Milan had long been abandoned to the licentious fury of an enraged soldiery. They committed with impunity every sacrilegious, and flagitious enormity, of which human nature is capable; while the wretched inhabitants of that once flourishing capital, were alternately the victims of insatiable rapacity, lust, and cruelty. Such was the deplorable condition of Milan, when Bourbon arrived, and assumed the command of the Imperial

1527. for the person, or the office, of the sovereign Pontiff, Bourbon successfully executed the attempt.

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Imperial forces. Touched with the supplications and distress of the magistrates and citizens, he solemnly swore to withdraw the emperor's soldiery, and to encamp them without the walls; provided that he was immediately supplied with the sum of thirty thousand ducats, which was indispensibly requisite to enable him to satisfy the demands of his army. But, no sooner had the inhabitants complied with this requisition, than Bourbon; probably more from inability, than from any intentional violation of his engagements; eluded, and evaded their execution.

Milan continued to groan under the most unrestrained tyranny, till Sforza, having surrendered the castle, and the city no longer affording plunder for the troops; it became requisite for Bourbon to propose some desperate enterprize, by the prospect of which, he might induce them to quit that exhausted and depopulated capital. Thus situated, he presented to their rapacity and avarice, the riches of Rome; a prospect too tempting to be resisted by a licentious and mutinous army. Passing therefore the Po, and afterwards the Oglio, at Borgoforte, in defiance of the confederate forces, he marched to Pavia. From thence he continued his rout towards Tuscany; Florence and Rome equally dreading where the blow would fall: while his own army, uncertain to which city their commander led them, followed his orders in submission and expectation.

Never

attempt. He was killed at the attack, by a musket-shot, under the walls ; but his victorious

1527.




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Never were more sublime talents displayed in war, nor greater resources exerted, than by Charles of Bourbon, in the conduct of his army. He had inspired the soldiery with the most enthusiastic attachment to his person, and deference to his commands. He marched by their side, mingled in their songs, and partook equally of their festivities, or their distresses. Their reverence for his person and character, approached to idolatry ; and it was to him, not to the emperor, from whom, in fact, they received neither pay nor directions ; that they alone felt obedience. Bourbon distributed among them his jewels, his equipage, his plate, and even his wardrobe ; reserving only a coat of silver tissue, which he wore over his armour, “ My children,” said he frequently to them, “ I am, like you, only a poor gentleman : I possess nothing ; let us make our fortunes together !” The troops answered by cries of transport and affection.

So little was the army under subjection to any other commands, than to those of Bourbon, that the troops refused to yield obedience to the directions of the viceroy of Naples, Lannoy, who represented the person of the emperor ; and who, as such, had actually concluded a suspension of hostilities in Charles’s name, with pope Clement. Lannoy’s person was not even in safety, in the Imperial camp ; and the Marquis del Guasto having

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1527.  rious army, the command of which devolved on Philibert, prince of Orange, entered, and pillaged that city. The reigning Pope, Clement the seventh, who had retired into the castle of St. Angelo, being forced to capitulate, remained a prisoner in the hands of the Imperial troops\*. Rome itself, abandoned to

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ing submitted singly to his orders, the soldiers instantly declared him by that act, a rebel to the emperor. Bourbon passing the Appennines, entered Tuscany, and quitted Arezzo on the 26th of April, without baggage or artillery. He then took the road to Rome, followed at a distance by the confederate army, under the command of the duke of Urbino.

\* No sooner was Bourbon in sight of the city of Rome, than he harangued his forces, and pointed to the end of all their sufferings. Being destitute of artillery, with which he might batter the walls, he instantly made his dispositions for an assault; and having discovered a breach, he planted with his own hands a ladder against the rampart, and prepared to mount it, followed by his German bands. But, at that instant, a shot, discharged from the first Harquebusse which was fired, terminated at once his life, and his misfortunes. Much fruitless inquiry has been made, to ascertain the author of his death; which is commonly attributed to a priest: but, Benvenuto Cellini, so well known by his extra-

to the rapacity and violence of the conquerors, 1527. became a theatre of carnage and universal desolation\*.

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extraordinary writings and adventures, lays claim to the merit of having killed this hero. Cellini's recital of the circumstances accompanying it, tho' picturesque, and even natural, has, however, only a very problematical claim to our belief; especially, as he likewise asserts the same fact respecting the prince of Orange, who succeeded Bourbon in the command; and whom he equally pretends to have killed, two years afterwards, at the siege of Florence.

By whatever hand this illustrious person fell, he preserved, even in the act of expiring, all his presence, as well as greatness, of mind. It is indisputable, from the judicial attestations of du Bellay-Langey, and of other authors, that Bourbon no sooner felt himself mortally wounded, than he ordered a Gascon captain, named Jonas, to cover him with a cloak; in order to conceal his death, lest it should damp the courage of his soldiers. Jonas executed his commands with punctuality. Le Ferron says, that the Constable still continued to breathe, when the city was taken; that he was carried into Rome, and there expired. It is certain, that he died at two o'clock in the morning of Monday, the 5th of May, 1527, at thirty-eight years of age. Philibert, prince of Orange, contrived to keep the troops in ignorance of their commander's death, till they were masters of Rome; and then, to render them inaccessible to pity, he revealed to them the fate of Bourbon. No language

1527. So violent, and, as it was then deemed, so sacrilegious an outrage, committed by a Catholic

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language can express the fury with which they were animated at this sad intelligence. They rent the air with the cries of "Carné, carné! Sangré, sangré! " Bourbon, Bourbon!"

\* The imagination is appalled at the bare recital of the wanton outrages on human nature, which were committed by Bourbon's army, during the time that they remained masters of Rome. The pillage lasted without any interruption, for two months. Never had that proud, but, unfortunate city, suffered from her barbarian conquerors, in the decline of the Roman empire; from Alaric, from Genseric, or from Odoacer, the same merciless treatment, as she underwent from the rage of the Imperial troops; the subjects, or the soldiers of a catholic king! Rapacity, lust, and impiety, were exhausted by these men. Roman ladies of the noblest extraction, were submitted to the basest and vilest prostitution. The sacred ornaments of the sacerdotal, and even of the pontifical dignity, were converted to purposes of ridicule and buffoonery. Priests, nay, even Bishops and Cardinals, were degraded to the brutal passions of the soldiery, and after having suffered every ignominy of blows, mutilation, and personal contumely, were massacred in pastime.

Exorbitant ransoms were exacted, repeatedly, from the same persons; and when they had no longer where-  
withal

tholic prince, the first sovereign in Europe, on the common father of Christendom; produced a new

1527.  
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withal to purchase life, they were butchered without mercy. Nuns, virgins, matrons, were publicly devoted to the infamous appetites of the soldiers; who first violated, and then stabbed, the victims of their pleasures. The streets were strewed with the dead.

Such was the spectacle which Rome exhibited at this period! The Roman blood, so often debased and contaminated by the Barbarians of the lower empire, by the Huns, the Vandals, and the Goths; suffered the last pollution, by the intermixture of the Spanish and German nations. It is asserted that eight thousand young women, of all ranks and conditions, were found to be pregnant within five months from the sack of that unhappy city. Even the palaces, and the persons of those Cardinals, most attached to the party of the emperor, were involved in the common misfortune. The Cardinal of Sienna, who from his avowed predilection for the Imperial faction, had not thought it requisite to quit his palace, and to fly for protection to the castle of St. Angelo; was compelled to pay a prodigious ransom, first to the Spaniards, and afterwards to the Germans. Not content with this act of injustice and rapacity, they placed him, bare-headed, on an ass; and in this condition conducted him thro' the streets of Rome, stunned with blows. The Cardinals of Minerva, and of Ponzetta, underwent the same treatment, tho' the latter prelate was eighty years of age. The

1527. a new league between Henry the eighth and Francis, which was cemented by their common jealousy and apprehension. Lautrec, who had long languished in disgrace, at a distance from the court, being recalled, was placed at the head of the army destined against Italy. Grown distrustful by his past experience, and foreseeing, in the character of the king, fresh sources of future misfortune, Lautrec would willingly have declined the commission; but, being obliged to submit to the royal pleasure, he prepared to pass the mountains, and once more to try the fortune of war in Italy.

The two kings of England and France, meanwhile, acting in concert, sent their heralds to defy the emperor: he returned these insults by reproaches and invectives

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Cardinals of Armelyn, and of Santiquatro, flying from the rage of the soldiery, were drawn up by ropes into the castle of St. Angelo. Lamoy attempted in vain, by his presence and authority, to impose some restraint on these flagitious excesses. Scarcely was his own person safe in Rome. Philibert, prince of Orange, alone retained some command over his licentious forces, in this general scene of devastation. Beaucaire, du Bellai-Langey, and Guicciardini, all concur in their enumeration and description of these atrocities.

against




against Francis, whom he branded with the most opprobrious epithets, and challenged to single combat. Unable to exercise any personal act of resentment against the king himself, Charles, forgetful of the obligations of generosity, and even of humanity, descended to punish the infraction of the treaty of Madrid, upon the two princes, his hostages. He not only rendered the confinement of the young Dauphin and the duke of Orleans, unusually strict; but, he caused them to be shut up in apartments darkened, not permitting them to partake of any sort of diversion or amusement. His visits to them, short, cold, and unfrequent, were followed by a measure altogether unworthy of his character; in depriving them of the attendance of their most faithful domestics, whom he sent to work at the oar, chained, in his gallies. 1527.

Meanwhile Lautrec again entered the Milanese, so often conquered, and so often lost, in the course of this reign. With the fortune constantly attendant on the French arms at their first arrival in Italy, he soon reduced the duchy to subjection. On the intelligence of his approach, Philibert, prince of Orange, toge-

1527. ther with the other Imperial generals, re-  
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 Dec. leasing the sovereign pontiff, whom they had  
 hitherto detained prisoner, hastily evacuated  
 1528. Rome\*. Lautrec pursued them by forced

\* Lannoy expired about this time at Gaïeta, having before his decease named Moncade to be his successor during pleasure, in the viceroyalty of Naples. It is singular to consider, that of the three great commanders who conducted the forces of Charles, at the memorable battle of Pavia; Bourbon, Lannoy, and the Marquis of Pescara; not one survived beyond a very short time. Lannoy died the last of the three. Moncade, who is accused by the contemporary historians, as being equally destitute either of humanity, or even of a belief in Christianity; was inclined to have rendered the Pope's imprisonment perpetual. But, Clement, availing himself of every avenue to the human heart, contrived by flattery, by ecclesiastical dignities, by promises, and even, at last, by the sale of the purple, to gain over his most inveterate enemies. The 9th of December, 1527, was fixed for his release; but, on the preceding night he quitted the castle of St. Angelo, disguised, according to Guicciardini, as a merchant; or, as Beaucaire asserts, in the dress of a servant. A company of soldiers, who waited for him in the adjoining meadow, escorted him to Montefiascone; from whence he immediately continued his flight to Orvieto, where he arrived in the night, almost alone, and unattended even by a single Cardinal.

marches;

marches ; and offering battle to their troops, 1528.   
who were enervated by plunder, as well as diminished by pestilential diseases, the natural effects of their intemperance and licentiousness ; he drove them before him in confusion.

Naples afforded them an asylum. It is confidently asserted, that if he had improved his present advantage, and had immediately besieged that city, he might have hoped for the most decisive success, from their general disorder and dismay ; but he lost this favourable juncture, in the attack of several places of inferior importance ; and at length, when it was too late, he sat down before the capital.

By that fatality which seemed to accompany the enterprizes of Francis beyond the Alps ; but, which was in reality the necessary consequence of his own negligence or profusion ; all these prosperous appearances were soon clouded, and they terminated, like every preceding expedition, in complete disaster. Lautrec, anxious for the glory of France, and not destitute of the talents, which were calculated to promote it ; exerted all his endeavors to avert the destruction, which he had early foreseen and predicted. In vain did he implore

1528. the king to satisfy and conciliate the celebrated Andrea Doria, whose concurrence and aid to block up the port of Naples, with the Genoese gallies which he commanded, was indispensibly necessary to the capture of that city. It was debated in the cabinet council of France, whether this advice should be followed: but, two of the ministers, the chancellor Du Prat, and Montmorenci, having strongly opposed it, from unworthy motives of private interest, Lautrec's salutary counsel was rejected\*. The siege of Naples was by this

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\* Andrea Doria, so celebrated in the annals of freedom, and so renowned in the history of Italy, was sprung from one of the most illustrious houses of Genoa. He was the greatest naval commander of his age; and having originally subjected Genoa to Francis, he anxiously aspired to the glory of liberating his native city, and of restoring the republican government, under which it had flourished for several centuries. The Genoese offered the king of France two hundred thousand ducats, as the price of their emancipation. Francis not only refused this proposition; but conceiving it necessary to humble and to weaken Genoa, he took very decided measures for raising and aggrandizing Savona: a neighbouring city, on the coast of Liguria, which he detached from the Genoese dominions, and where

this means unavoidably protracted: summer 1528. advancing, malignant distempers began to spread themselves among the French; while the hopes of success growing every day more faint, the army, almost rendered incapable of action by its continual losses, sunk into universal dejection.

Lautrec nevertheless long sustained his own courage unshaken; but, being seized at length with the symptoms of a mortal disease, he became unable to perform the functions of a general. His officers endeavored to induce him to retire to Capua, which he might still have accomplished; but having sworn to enter Naples victorious, or to die in the attempt; and, sinking under the agita-

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where he began to construct a port and fortifications. This act of imprudent resentment alienated the affections of Doria and of his countrymen, who at length threw themselves into the arms of the emperor. Charles knew the value of that friendship, which Francis had neglected to preserve: Doria obtained the command of the Genoese galleys in the Imperial service, with immense appointments: Savona was restored to Genoa; and the latter city was declared absolutely free, under the emperor's protection. Such were the ruinous and fatal consequences of Francis's misconduct!

1528. tions of his mind, still more than under his  
bodily infirmity, he expired in the French  
camp\*. With him, the small remains of vi-  
gor

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\* Never perhaps did the character of Lautrec appear in so eminent a point of view, as towards the close of his life. Tho' depressed by disease, and hopeless of any succours from the court of France, he performed before Naples, every duty of the most consummate commander. His vigilance, activity, and military resources, protracted, tho' they could not avert, the destiny which pursued his army. It is asserted, that if he would have submitted to raise the siege, and to retire from before Naples, he might have safely effected his retreat. Unfortunately, his high sense of honor, and the elevation of his mind, did not allow him to embrace so wholesome, but, so humiliating an alternative. He resisted the progress of the disorder, which consumed himself and his forces, with an undaunted spirit; nor did the enemy obtain any important advantage over the troops of France, while Lautrec survived.

Compelled at length by weakness to keep his bed, he still continued his anxious, and incessant inquiries, respecting the condition of his army. The officers concealed from him the fatal havoc made by the plague, as much as possible; but he, distrusting the veracity of their assertions, and being resolved to ascertain the truth, ordered two pages into his presence, who had not been previously instructed what answers to return to his inquiries. He then menaced them with the most

severe

gor and firmness, which still continued to 1528.  
animate his troops, became extinct. The  
Marquis of Saluzzo, on whom the chief command devolved, having been wounded in the knee, capitulated soon after at Aversa, and

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severe and ignominious punishment, if they did not instantly satisfy him as to the real state of his forces. They, terrified at his threats, and intimidated by his denunciations of chastisement for any breach of truth, threw themselves on their knees, and made an ingenuous disclosure of the melancholy condition of the camp, which was a scene of universal death and despair. Lautrec turning himself in his bed, heaved one groan, and immediately expired. His remains, which were at first buried in the camp, by the hands of his own troops, were afterwards transported to Naples by a Spanish soldier, in the intention of selling the body to the relations of Lautrec. But, Gonsalvo de Cordova, grandson to the celebrated general of that name, who conquered the kingdom for Ferdinand; with a liberality and greatness of mind truly admirable, not only paid him the honors of a funeral, but erected to his memory a marble monument, in the church of "St. Maria la Nuova," at Naples, on which he inscribed an epitaph, commemorating the virtues and misfortunes of Lautrec. The close of his life, which must incline posterity to draw a veil over the defects of his character, will likewise induce us to forget his presumption, imprudence, and arrogance.

died

1528. died in imprisonment. The whole kingdom of Naples was evacuated by the French; and these vast preparations, like so many others which had preceded them, were not productive of the smallest advantage to France.

1529. Wearied with war, and exhausted by such continual military efforts, the several princes of Europe suspended, from common weakness, their mutual hostilities; and this voluntary truce was soon followed by a final pacification. Margaret of Burgundy, who was aunt to the emperor, and Louisa of Savoy, the mother of Francis, both princesses of distinguished ability; were the personages principally employed to mediate so desirable an accommodation\*. A peace was concluded at Cambray;

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\* Margaret, daughter of the Archduke Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, was a princess of infinite wit and capacity. Her projected marriage with Charles the eighth of France, having been dissolved from political motives, Margaret was sent back into the Low Countries. She was afterwards demanded by Ferdinand of Arragon and Isabella, for their only son, Don Juan, heir to the Spanish monarchy. On her voyage from Flanders into Spain, she was attacked by a violent storm near the coast of England, during which



1529.

bray ; the terms of which, tho' injurious, and even in some measure ignominious to France, were nevertheless accepted, on account of the necessity of liberating the Dauphin and his brother the duke of Orleans, from their captivity ; a stipulation which formed one of the most important articles of the treaty. Francis not only renounced his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, and to the duchy of Milan ; but, relinquished all his rights of sovereignty over Flanders and Artois. His allies were sacrificed and abandoned ; but Milan was restored to Francisco Sforza, and Burgundy was preserved to France. Florence, after a long and obstinate defence, surrendered to the Imperial forces ; and the house of Medicis, which had been expelled for a number of years, was re-

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which the vessel was expected to sink. In such a scene of terror and confusion, it is said that she had the calmness and presence of mind to tie all her jewels round her arm, enclosed in a waxed cloth ; annexing to them these two humorous lines of poetry, descriptive of her peculiar fortune ;

“ Cy git Margot, la gente Demoiselle,

“ Qu’eut deux Maris, et si mourut Pacelle.”

established

1529. established by Charles in its former authority over that city and its territory\*.

After the conclusion of a treaty, not more honorable and advantageous to the emperor, who remained the real sovereign of Italy,

\* The siege of Florence by the Imperialists, may be compared with that of Rochelle by Richlieu, in the seventeenth century; and may vie with any of the most celebrated sieges of antiquity. Every extremity of famine was experienced by the citizens, previous to their surrender. Political and religious fanaticism, while they heightened the calamities of that unfortunate city, enabled its inhabitants to support them. They capitulated on the 9th of August, 1530. Philibert, prince of Orange, one of the greatest commanders of that age, so fertile in illustrious persons, was killed only a short time before the surrender of Florence, in the attack of a convoy between Pisa and Pistöia. He commanded the Imperial troops; and died, like Pescara and Bourbon, his predecessors, in the prime of life, leaving behind him a high reputation. Philibert, who was only thirty years old at the time when he was killed, resembled the Constable of Bourbon in the most distinguishing features of his character, peculiarly in his affability and generosity. The soldiery felt a similar attachment to him; and Ferruccio, who commanded the Florentine convoy, in the attack of which the prince of Orange fell, being taken prisoner by the Imperialists, was instantly put to death, as an offering to the memory of their deceased general.

than

than it was humiliating to France ; the liberation of the Dauphin and his brother took place. The Marechal de Montmorenci was sent to the town of Andaye, on the frontiers of Spain, carrying with him the ransom, amounting to two millions of crowns of gold : while Velasco, Constable of Castile, conducted the two young princes, and Eleanor, the sister of Charles, to the opposite side of the river Bidassoa ; where the exchange being June 1. reciprocally made, the new queen of France proceeded towards Bourdeaux\*. Francis

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\* The archbishop of Embrun, who was afterwards the celebrated Cardinal de Tournon, the patron of Rabelais ; accompanied Montmorenci in the execution of this important commission. Four months were employed by the Spanish and French directors of the finances, in the inspection of the money destined for the ransom, which was deposited in forty-eight chests, carefully sealed up. On the day appointed for the interchange, every precaution of the most jealous apprehension was observed by both parties. Velasco and Montmorenci having met in the midst of the Bidassoa, where a vessel was moored, the princes and the treasure were at the same instant reciprocally exchanged. Montpesat was immediately dispatched to carry the news to Francis at Bourdeaux, from whence he set forward to meet his new queen and children, without delay.

having

1529. having advanced to meet them as far as the abbey of Veien in Gascony, the nuptial ceremony was performed there on the same day. Eleanor was at this time above thirty years of age : her person appears to have possessed very few charms ; and the king, who was already strongly attached to his mistress, the duchess d'Estampes, considering this compulsory marriage as merely political, felt for her no affection. Satisfied with the external honors of royalty, and always treated by Francis with respect, Eleanor was in fact only a nominal queen. But, as Montmorenci began about this time to acquire a great degree of favor and ascendant over his master ; conscious of her want of personal consequence, she attached him to her service, and supported herself principally by his influence and credit\*.

During

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\* Eleanor of Austria, who was born at Louvain in the Netherlands, in the month of November, 1498, was married to the celebrated Emanuel, king of Portugal, in 1519. She was left a widow by his death in 1521, having had only one daughter by that prince. Possessing no eminent endowments of mind or of person, Francis only regarded her as the sister of his rival and enemy ;

During the interval of tranquillity which 1530. succeeded to the almost continual wars, by which the kingdom had been agitated and exhausted since Francis's accession; he mixed the patronage of letters, and the munificent protection of all the liberal arts, with the splendor and luxury that at every period eminently distinguished his court. The simplicity of manners that had characterized the nation under Louis the twelfth, was forgotten; while the introduction of ladies constantly about the person of the sovereign, a practice unknown before in Europe, diffused a spirit of gallantry,

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enemy; nor did he treat her either with private affection, or with political confidence. It does not, however, appear that she deserved this estrangement, or that she ever betrayed her husband to the emperor; as the duchess d'Estampes unquestionably did, towards the close of Francis's reign. Eleanor survived the king; and after his death, in 1547, she retired first into the Austrian Netherlands, and afterwards into Spain, where she died at Talavera, on the 18th of February, 1558. History is very silent respecting her; and it is somewhat remarkable, that in the funeral oration pronounced by the Bishop of Macon for Francis the first, in which many particulars relative to the king's last moments and words are enumerated, no mention whatever is made of Eleanor.

which

1530. which the king's character was highly calculated to encourage. "A court without ladies," said he frequently, "is a year without spring: a spring without roses." His sister Margaret, queen of Navarre, one of the most accomplished princesses of whom we read in history; imitating Francis, introduced refinement among the mountains of the Pyrenees, where she resided, at Pau, in the principality of Béarn. Tho' the martial spirit of chivalry still gave an air of ferocity to the diversions and entertainments of the age, yet an elegance and softness which insensibly mixed itself with them, began to polish the roughness of this remaining barbarism. Instead of the gloomy fortresses, which had hitherto constituted the residence of the French kings; the superb palaces of Fontainebleau, Chambord, and St. Germain-en-Laye, successively appeared: while genius and poetry, raised by the encouragement which so great a monarch extended to them, exerted their first attempts in eulogiums to his honor.

The death of the Countess d'Angoulesme, the king's mother, soon followed the peace, which had been eminently due to her endeavors.

VORS.

vors. Paris being then desolated by the plague, 1531. she retired to Fontainbleau; but the infection having extended to the environs of that place, obliged her to take the rout of Romorantin in the province of Berri. Being seized with a distemper on the road, and forced to stop at Grez, a little village in the Gatinois, she there expired after a few days illness, at fifty-four Sept. 22; years of age\*.

Her

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\* Louisa of Savoy left a prodigious sum of money in her coffers, at her decease; amounting, as appears by a letter of the Marechal de Montmorenci to the bishop of Auxerre, to above fourteen hundred thousand crowns. Rapacity and avarice were among the most marked of her vices; and Francis was, thro'out his whole life, too subservient to all her passions, to impose any effectual controul upon their violence. Brantome relates a circumstance relative to her death, which strongly evinces the force of those superstitious terrors, to which even the most enlightened princes were not superior, in the sixteenth century. Three days before she died, says he, being awake during the night, she was surprised at an extraordinary brightness, which illuminated the chamber. Apprehending it to be the fire which her women had made, she reprimanded them; but they replied, that it was caused by the moon. The duchess ordered the curtains of her bed to be undrawn;

1531. Her able and successful exertions to procure the king's release from captivity after the battle of Pavia, however they may seem in some measure to efface the criminal conduct which preceded it; yet can never obliterate the stain, which Bourbon's exile, and Semblençai's execution, have left upon her memory. She was more lamented by her son, than by his people, and seems to have been

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and discovering that this unusual light was produced by a comet; "Ah!" exclaimed she, "this is a Phenomenon that appears not for persons of ordinary condition! Shut the window; it is a comet, which announces my departure; I must prepare myself for it."—On the ensuing morning she sent for her confessor, being convinced of her approaching dissolution. The physicians assuring her that her apprehensions were ill-founded and premature; "If I had not seen," replied Louisa, "the signal for my death, I could believe you; for I do not feel myself exhausted." Under this impression she expired, on the third day after the above-mentioned event.

It is said that she had always extremely dreaded death, and could never bear the mention of mortality, even from the pulpit. Long after this period, and even late in the seventeenth century, all the appearances of the celestial bodies, not perfectly comprehended by the multitude, were supposed to indicate the decease of sovereigns, or the changes and revolutions of states.

quickly



quickly forgotten by both. Francis solemnized her funeral with his accustomed magnificence. She was buried at St. Denis, among the sovereigns of France ; and flatterers, too ready to celebrate even the imaginary virtues of the great, decorated her tomb with panegyrics. 1531.

The alliance between France and England still subsisting, the two kings, mutually desirous of cementing their political ties, met at St. Joquelvert, a little village between Calais and Boulogne. Every mark of reciprocal confidence and friendship, was shewn by each to the other, and all the appearances of perfect union were displayed in their behavior. We find no period of modern history, when the interviews of sovereign princes appear to have been so frequent as in the sixteenth century, and peculiarly so under this reign ; yet no compacts were ever so soon violated, nor ever were wars so obstinate, and so continually renewed. 1532: Oct.

The conference between Henry and the king of France, was followed in the ensuing year, by another meeting of more importance and greater splendor ; the famous interview of 1533:


1533. Marseilles. Francis, always occupied with  
Oct. the desire of reconquering the Milanese, and  
untaught by his past experience or misfortunes, adapted all his measures to that favorite object. To the Italian princes, and especially to those of the house of Medicis, he shewed the highest marks of attention, as they were capable of being made eminently subservient to his views on the duchy. These powerful motives at length determined him to enter into the closest connexions with Clement the seventh, the reigning Pope; by demanding Catherine of Medicis, his Holiness's niece, in marriage for his second son, Henry, duke of Orleans. Clement, flattered by this condescension in so great a sovereign, and anxious to elevate his family, by an alliance of so intimate a nature with the blood royal of France, accepted the offer with a satisfaction which he did not affect to conceal. The king's gallies having conducted the Pope and the young princess into his dominions, Francis, attended by the queen and his whole court, made a public entry into Marseilles,  
Oct. 23. on the day following that of the pontiff. The nuptials, which were celebrated with uncommon

mon magnificence, were succeeded by festivities that continued during five weeks\*. 1533.

Henry and Catherine were both at this time in very early youth, their ages only differing by thirteen days, nor had either of them yet completed their fourteenth year. But Clement, apprehending that from any unexpected change of political circumstances, the marriage, if not completed, might be liable to a dissolution; demanded its instant consummation, which was performed the same night. The king founded great expectations on this alliance, in case of future hostilities with the emperor, of which he well knew that Italy would be the princi-

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\* The interview of Marseilles, which began on the 4th of October, terminated on the 20th of November, 1533. Clement and Francis were lodged in two houses situated opposite each other, joined by a wooden gallery of communication, for the purpose of holding private conferences. The young princess, Catherine of Medicis, afterwards too celebrated in the history of France, was conducted from Pisa to Marseilles, by the duke of Albany, her uncle, in the French galleys. The nuptial ceremony and benediction were performed by Clement himself; who was anxious to complete with his own hands, a work that laid the foundation of the future greatness of the house of Medicis.

1533.  pal theatre: but, these political illusions, constructed on a frail foundation, the life of Clement; were speedily dissipated by the death of the Pope, which happened only eleven months after the interview of Marseilles\*.

1534. New causes of discontent between these powerful and inveterate rivals, Charles and Francis, which increased continually, portended the immediate renewal of convulsions similar to those, which had already agi-

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\* Clement the seventh was the natural son of Julian de Medicis, who was brother of the great Lorenzo, and who was assassinated in the cathedral of Florence, at the conspiracy of the Pazzi. It cannot be denied that Clement was a prince of genius and policy, possessing talents for government, as well as many of the virtues which adorn private life: but, timidity, which was the predominant feature of his character, conduced to produce or to augment, all the misfortunes of his reign. Never was any pontificate in the history of the church of Rome, more eminently marked with calamities! He expired of a lingering distemper, after having foretold his approaching dissolution; having given directions to prepare the ring and the funeral habit, in which the Sovereign Pontiffs are interred; and lastly recommended Alexander Farnese, dean of the sacred college, as his successor in the chair of St. Peter. That Cardinal was elected unanimously by the Conclave, and assumed the name of Paul the third. Clement the seventh died on the 24th September, 1534.

tated

tated and disturbed all Europe. Francis <sup>1534.</sup>  
 first openly appeared in arms. The execu-  
 tion of Merveille, his agent at the court of  
 Milan, whom Francisco Sforza, with an in-  
 tention of gratifying Charles the fifth, had  
 caused to be privately put to death in prison;  
 formed a plausible, if not a solid pretext for  
 the rupture\*. The duke of Savoy having  
 likewise

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\* There is not any event during the whole reign of Francis, more involved in mystery, than the execution of Merveille. He was a Milanese gentleman, who having acquired a considerable fortune in France, under the reign of Louis the twelfth and his successor, principally by the liberality of those two princes; was, at Sforza's personal and unprovoked solicitation, appointed minister from the king, at the court of Milan. His credentials were, however, concealed, and his quality of ambassador from Francis was not avowed, on account of Sforza's dread lest the emperor should resent such a public demonstration of his confidence in the king of France. Charles in fact no sooner discovered the nature of Merveille's commission, than he menaced the duke of Milan with his severest indignation.

A gentleman of the bed-chamber to Sforza, named the Seigneur de Castiglione, having wantonly, and as it would seem, intentionally, insulted and wounded some of Merveille's attendants; was killed in the streets of Milan, on the 3d of July, 1533, by those domestics,

1534. likewise given him many causes of umbrage  
 and dissatisfaction, in addition to his refusal  
 of permission for the passage of the French  
 troops thro' Piedmont, the king no longer ob-  
 served any measures with that prince. Brion,  
 1535. lately created Admiral of France, entering his  
 dominions, reduced them almost without ex-  
 perienicing any resistance, while the duke im-

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in their own defence. In consequence of this tumult, and by the permission of Sforza, if not by his directions, Merveille was instantly seized and imprisoned. All his servants were put to the torture, in hopes of extorting from them some confession against their master; and Merveille himself, notwithstanding the sacred nature of his character, and the protection which it ought to have afforded him, was privately beheaded during the night, in prison, on the 6th of July, three days after the death of Castiglioné. His body was publicly exposed in the great Square of Milan. Sforza afterwards dispatched his Chancellor, Taverne, the nephew of Merveille, to justify his conduct to Francis, and to deny that Merveille was invested with any public character; but, Taverne was instantly driven from court by the king, with every mark of infamy and detestation. It appears clearly, that Sforza acted, thro'-out this whole transaction, under the terror of the emperor's resentment, to which he sacrificed every motive of public justice, and of private honor.

plored

plored in vain the emperor's protection. Francisco Sforza, duke of Milan, the last survivor of his unfortunate line, died at this time, without issue; and it is asserted that his terror at the apprehended approach of the French, from whom he, as well as his family, had so severely suffered, increased or caused the distemper of which he expired. 1535.

While Francis appeared to be on the point of rendering himself once more master of the Milanese, his rival had been engaged in an enterprize against the common enemies of Christendom. The scene of his exertions was Africa, and they were attended with the most complete success. Charles, returning victorious from an expedition against Tunis, where he had liberated a number of Christian captives from Moorish fetters, prepared to revenge the injuries done to his ally, the duke of Savoy. The emperor landed at Naples; and after having given vent to his resentment against Francis, by a speech which he pronounced in the Conclave at Rome, filled with accusations and complaints of the perfidy, as well as the ambition, of that prince; he joined his general Antonio de Leyva, and immediately

1536. ately opened the campaign in person. His late eminent success in Africa, the servile flatteries of his courtiers and parasites, joined to the predictions of pretenders to astrology, who in that century still retained no small influence over the minds of the wisest princes, and who foretold his certain conquest of France; these combined circumstances appear to have in some degree warped and perverted an understanding, naturally cool as well as discerning. In opposition to the opinion of his oldest and wisest captains, he determined to carry the war into his enemy's dominions, by invading Provence. Every argument and motive which was urged to dissuade him from this resolution, proved ineffectual. Unaffected by the strongest reasons, and forgetful of the experience which the Constable of Bourbon's ill success in a similar attempt might have taught him; he passed the river Var, and continued his march into France.

The king's wisdom and prudence were never more ably exerted during the course of his whole reign, than in this imminent necessity of the state, which sufficiently evinced the alteration produced in his character, as well as conduct,

by



by the reverses that he had sustained. Dis- 1536.  
trustful of fortune, and rendered cautious by  
the remembrance of his past defeats; instead  
of meeting his rival in the field, he resolved  
to trust no event to the uncertain issue of a  
battle. Pursuing a plan more circumspect and  
judicious, in order to ensure the safety of his  
kingdom, he sacrificed a single province: while  
he effectually prevented the Imperial forces  
from procuring either forage or provisions,  
by laying waste, or totally destroying the  
country thro' which he knew that they must  
pass, in their march towards Toulon or Mar-  
seilles. Francis himself encamping in person  
at Valence, prepared to try the issue of a se-  
cond engagement; in case that the defeat  
of Montmorenci in a first action, who was  
stationed at Avignon, considerably nearer the  
French frontiers, should render such a measure  
necessary for the general safety.

But, while these public duties engrossed the  
attention of the monarch, a stroke of the  
most afflicting nature befel the father. The  
Dauphin Francis, his eldest son, a prince of  
the highest expectations, peculiarly dear to  
the king, as well as to all France, died at  
nineteen

1536. nineteen years of age. The circumstances of his death, as they seemed to justify a suspicion of poison, increased the general sorrow. It appears that the prince, who had been engaged at the diversion of tennis, in the meadow of Ainay, near Lyons, having violently heated himself by the exercise, dispatched one of his pages to bring him some water. Donna Agnes Beatrix Pacheco, a Spanish lady of quality in the service of the queen, had presented the Dauphin with a curious cup; made of a species of earth, remarkable, (probably from a mixture of salt-petre in its composition), for the quality of communicating to any liquor poured into it, a peculiar coolness. While the page, having placed this cup on the side of the well, was employed in drawing up the bucket; it is pretended that an Italian nobleman of Ferrara, named Sebastian Montecuculi, approached, and unperceived, threw poison into the cup, out of which the Dauphin drank immediately afterwards. It is certain that he was instantly seized with the most excruciating pains; and being very desirous to embrace his father before his death, he caused himself to be put  
into

into a boat on the Rhone, in hopes of reaching the city of Valence, while still alive : but even this consolation was denied him. The Dauphin died at Tournon, before he could reach the king. Francis's fortitude sunk under so severe a trial, and it was long before he recovered in any degree his accustomed serenity. Henry, his second son, tho' an accomplished youth, was not equally dear to him as the deceased prince had been. If we may credit the contemporary historians, the Dauphin Francis eminently possessed many of those qualities which conciliate love and admiration. In his person, he was handsome, and well proportioned. His temper, serious, steady, and reserved, seemed to indicate an understanding more mature than his years ; and his deportment at the interview of Marseilles, had impressed with no less respect than wonder, that numerous and august assembly\*.

Monte-

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\* The Dauphin, Francis, was certainly a prince of high expectation. He was born at Amboise, in February, 1517, and resembled his father in many features of his person, as well as character. Like him, the Dauphin had a decided passion for military glory ; and, like

1536. Montecuculi being arrested, and put to the torture, under the severity of pain confessed the crime : he even accused Antonio de Leyva of being his accomplice, and threw out some dark insinuations against the emperor himself; but these opprobrious imputations ought not to admit of a moment's belief, and were probably extorted from him only by the violence  
7th Oct. of his corporal sufferings. Montecuculi was torn in pieces by wild horses, at Lyons. Henry, the king's second son, becoming, in

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like him, he had betrayed an attachment to the pleasures of love, to which it is said that he had sacrificed beyond the limits of prudence. "*La belle de l'Estanges*," a beautiful lady of the court, was the object of his passion. Beaucaire and Le Ferron, both expressly assert, that the pleasures in which he had indulged himself with this favourite mistress, by inflaming his blood, probably hastened, if they did not cause, the disorder of which he died. The Dauphin had been destined, by a treaty between Francis the first and Henry the eighth, to marry the princess Mary, daughter to the latter of those princes, who afterwards herself ascended the throne of England. The weather was uncommonly hot, during the summer in which he died; and it seems more than probable, that he was carried off by a pleurisy, the natural consequence of drinking cold water after violent exercise.

consequence of this tragical event, heir to the crown, his younger brother Charles was created Duke of Orleans\*.

1586.



While the court of France was plunged in

\* Notwithstanding the general testimony of historians, there appears to be a great uncertainty spread over this whole transaction. Montecuculi accused the Imperial generals: on the other hand, some of the French writers have not scrupled to name Catherine of Medicis as the author of the Dauphin's death, with the view of advancing her husband to the throne; but this supposition ought not to be adopted without much stronger reasons. Can it be supposed, that at seventeen years of age, she could be capable of projecting and executing so atrocious a crime?—Montecuculi himself not only varied in his evidence; but he accused persons as privy to the commission of the act, whose innocence was incontestible and demonstrated. A treatise on poisons, written by Montecuculi's own hand, was undoubtedly found in his possession: nor can it be questioned that the king, who assisted in person, with his whole court, at Montecuculi's execution, believed him to be guilty of the Dauphin's death. Still, the punishment is by no means a proof of the imputed crime. The deaths of distinguished persons are often falsely attributed to poison; and the symptoms of the Dauphin's disease and death, might have all been produced by drinking cold water, after an exercise which had exceedingly heated his blood.

1536. the deepest distress by these domestic events, the emperor pursuing his rout thro' Provence, plundered the city of Aix; and sat down before the city of Marseilles, of which he commenced the siege. But, at the end of a few weeks, he found, when too late, the justice of those remonstrances which had been made to him, previous to his undertaking this expedition. Antonio de Leyva, worn out by repeated attacks of the gout, and exhausted with continual fatigue, had already fallen a victim to the same distemper, which had carried off Lautrec before Naples. The Imperial troops became the prey of a thousand diseases incident to camps; and no prospect appeared of the surrender of Marseilles.

Yielding therefore to necessity, and compelled by these disasters, which every day increased, the emperor began his march back into Savoy. All the roads were filled with his dying soldiers; and many of them, unable to support the fatigue of so painful a retreat, or incapable of following their commander, dropped under the weight of their arms, and fell into the hands of the enemy. Vast numbers were massacred by the exasperated peasants.

sants. Montmorenci, cautious and circum- 1536.  
spect, perhaps even to a degree of fault, re-  
mained motionless in his camp near Avignon;  
and, instead of pursuing an army dismayed  
and broken by toils, which must have proba-  
bly afforded an easy victory, he suffered them  
to escape, and to repass the mountains into  
Piedmont. Charles, covered with confusion,  
and deceived in all his sanguine expectations  
of subjecting any portion of France, remained  
only a short time in Italy. Without visiting  
Milan, he embarked on board his gallies in  
the port of Genoa; and arriving, after a vio-  
lent tempest, in Spain, immured himself in the  
recesses of his palace\*.

During

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\* The distresses of the Imperial army in its retreat  
out of Provence, over the Alps into Italy, were equal  
to any, perhaps, ever sustained. The horses, which  
had no forage whatever, subsisted entirely on the grass  
which they could hastily gather during their flight.  
The emperor himself was more than once without any  
sustenance or food, during the whole day. As if he  
was pursued by evil fortune, on his voyage into Spain,  
he narrowly escaped perishing: six of his gallies  
actually foundered; and two large vessels, in one of  
which was all his plate, and in the other was embarked

1536. During these transactions, in which the existence of the French monarchy was involved, James the fifth, king of Scotland, mindful of the ancient alliances between the two crowns, and excited by the critical situation of France, hastened to the assistance of Francis. He arrived too late to perform any actual service, the emperor being already on his retreat ; but this proof of personal attachment so deeply affected the king, that he could not refuse the demand which James made, of his daughter Magdalen in marriage. The princess was in the bloom of youth, beautiful, and accomplished. Her ambition, gratified by a throne, induced her to accept with joy the proposal, tho' every endeavor was used to render her  
 1537. 1st Jan. averse to the union. The nuptials having been celebrated at Paris, the young queen accompanied her husband into Scotland ; but a hectic fever, with which she was seized soon after her arrival there, put an end to her life, within a few months subsequent to the mar-

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his stud, shared the same fate. It was commonly said, " that he was gone to bury his honour in Spain, which was dead in France."

riage.



riage \*. James persisting in his desire of <sup>1537.</sup>  
 being connected with France by matrimonial <sup>2d July.</sup>  
 ties, received from the king's hand, the prin-  
 cess Mary of Guise, widow of Louis, duke  
 of Longueville, for his second wife. She  
 afterwards became mother of the unfortunate  
 Mary, Queen of Scots, beheaded by Eliza-  
 beth.

The war was still continued between the  
 two sovereigns, with alternate and various  
 success, in Flanders, as well as in Piedmont :  
 but the strong apparent interest which Fran-  
 cis took in the affairs of Scotland, when added

\* The princess Magdalen was born in August, 1520. Brantome plainly hints that her death was caused by sorrow and regret, at having sacrificed her own delicious country, to the ambition of reigning in a then rude and barbarous kingdom. When she was convinced by sad experience of this truth, and conscious that her destiny permitted her to return no more to France, she sunk under it; frequently exclaiming, " Helas ! j'ai voulu etre Reine !" Ronsard, the famous poet, has celebrated the nuptials, and very minutely described them, in a sort of Epithalamium, not inelegant. He was at that time a page to the Duke of Orleans, who presented him to the young queen at her departure, and Ronsard accompanied her into Scotland.

1537. to the two late successive marriages of James the fifth; inspiring Henry the eighth with jealousy, gradually detached him from the strict friendship which he had long professed for the king of France. Charles eventually availed himself of these subjects of alienation, to renew his ancient connexions with the English crown.

Montmorenci, who possessed at this time an almost unbounded influence over his sovereign, united in his own person many of the highest dignities of the kingdom. To the military office of Constable, and to that of grand-master of the household, he added the absolute disposal of the finances. Neither his talents, nor the qualities of his heart, seem to have been such, as rendered him altogether worthy of these extraordinary honors; nor can we avoid feeling some degree of surprise, at finding a man who was uniformly unfortunate in the field, and frequently interested or partial in the cabinet, becoming the minister and favorite of two succeeding kings. His ignorance was extreme, in an age and court where letters began to be peculiarly cultivated and honored. The severity, or rather, brutality

lity of his manners, disgusted all who ap-<sup>1537.</sup>  
 proached him ; while his temper, stern, impe-  
 rious, and unfeeling, rendered him universally  
 odious. He cannot, however, justly be denied  
 the praise due to distinguished courage, mag-  
 nanimity, and loyalty. Francis, naturally dis-  
 cerning, and capable, when not biassed by pas-  
 sion, of forming a just estimate of the human  
 character ; did not always continue to Mont-  
 morenci the same friendship and confidence.  
 He disgraced the Constable, and never would  
 recall, or employ him afterwards : but neither  
 Francis's conduct, nor his dying advice, could  
 prevent his son, Henry the second, on his  
 accession to the throne, from raising Mont-  
 morenci again to even greater honors and dis-  
 tinctions, which continued without diminution  
 till the death of that prince.

In order to induce Charles and Francis <sup>1538.</sup>  
 finally to accommodate their differences, Paul  
 the third, who had succeeded to the pontifi-  
 cate ; acting as the common father of Christen-  
 dom, prevailed on both monarchs to agree to  
 an interview at Nice. They repaired thither ; June.  
 but, for some reasons, either personal or poli-

1538. tical, they neither met, nor even saw each other\*. The Pope, who affected to perform the office of a mediator, could only procure the conclusion of a truce for ten years; tho' the emperor, at his departure, promised to meet the king at the town of Aigues-Mortes, situate on the coast of the Mediterranean, in Languedoc. At the instances of his sister Eleanor, he repaired thither, landed without guards, waited on his rival, and dined in his tent. On the following day Francis returned

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\* The two princes did not in fact enter the city of Nice, which place constituted the only remaining possession of the Duke of Savoy; the French being masters of every other part of his dominions. Francis was lodged at the little village of Villeneuve, only a quarter of a league from Nice, where he arrived some days before the emperor, who remained at Villefranche. It is difficult to ascertain or to assign the reasons, for their not seeing each other. The Pope went from one to the other prince, hearing their mutual complaints, and vainly endeavoring to find some means of accommodation. Eleanor, Francis's queen, had however an ineffectual interview with her brother the emperor, at Villefranche. Tho' the Pope could not procure a final pacification, yet, to his interposition and exertions was due the truce for ten years, to which the two sovereigns consented.

this

this mark of confidence, by a visit to Charles, <sup>1538.</sup>  
 and was entertained on board the Imperial galley. Every demonstration of mutual esteem and friendship was exchanged; they embraced, and appeared to have forgotten all their past animosities. But the emperor, of a character more profound than Francis, and well acquainted with the generous unsuspecting character of the king, foresaw that he might soon have occasion to request a passage thro' his dominions. The aspect of affairs in the Netherlands had already excited alarm in the cabinet of Madrid; and Charles, who projected to repair in person to that part of his widely separated territories, only wore on this occasion the appearance of amity, that he might the more easily and effectually deceive his antagonist\*.

On

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\* Du Bellai, in his Memoirs, does not seem to regard the interview of Aignes-Mortes as being preconcerted. Francis, on his return from Nice to Avignon, received letters from the emperor, which informed him that Charles was disposed to land at Aignes-Mortes, and there to hold that conference with him, which had not taken place at Nice. Francis instantly set out to meet the emperor, and the two monarchs had together several long

1538. On his return from this interview, Francis, who loved the study of nature, and possessed a curiosity of the most liberal kind, gratified himself by several researches which mark a turn of mind not usual in sovereigns. He made a journey into Dauphiné, a province which affords many romantic and singular beauties of various kinds. Having caused a boat to be constructed for the purpose of exploring a subterranean lake, situated near a village called Notre Dame de la Baulme, on the road from Grenoble to Lyons; he ventured into it, and proceeded a considerable distance on the water. But, a strong current, which grew more rapid as he advanced, attended with a noise which seemed to be occasioned by a whirlpool; obliged his guides to desist from any farther progress, and

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conversations and interviews. The rebellion of the inhabitants of Ghent, tho' it did not break out into open revolt for some time afterwards, yet unquestionably was foreseen by a prince so sagacious and discerning as Charles the fifth; and it is probable, that he laid the foundation of the request which he soon after made to Francis, for obtaining a passage thro' his dominions, during the interview of Aigues-Mortes.

to

to reconduct him to the entrance of the <sup>1538.</sup>  
grotto\*.

Francis, who, as it is believed, had already sacrificed his first queen to his irregular pleasures; experienced in turn the fatal effects of his indiscretion, and became, while yet in the vigor of life, a martyr to the most cruel of all diseases. He had been engaged in an amour with a woman, known in history by the name of "La belle Feroniere," whose rank and condition are somewhat uncertain. Her husband, conscious how dangerous it is to oppose the passions or desires of princes, pretended to submit to his own dishonor: but, being determined on revenge, and unable to devise any other expedient, he voluntarily contracted that distemper which had been recently brought from the New World into Europe, which he communicated to his un-

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\* This story, which is incontestibly authentic, occurs in almost all the French historians, tho' many circumstances of it are here omitted, as being too minute. The remains of a boat, said to be that used by Francis the first, were to be seen some few years since, in the cavern thro' which lies the passage to the lake. The "Sept merveilles de Dauphiné," are well known, and are still visited by the curious.

fortunate

1538. fortunate wife ; and she, unknowingly, to the king. It is pretended that the husband administered quick and effectual remedies to his complaint ; but “ *La Feroniere* ” survived it only a short time. Francis himself, whether from unskilful treatment in his physicians, or from neglect, or ignorance, never perfectly recovered this singular punishment. He underwent extreme bodily pain from its effects ; and, after dragging on seven or eight years of life, under a continual return of symptoms more and more alarming, expired in the vigor of his age\*.

But,

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\* Every writer of Francis's reign relates this extraordinary anecdote ; and it is found, tho' with some difference in minute particulars, in Mezeraj, *Le Calendrier du Pere L'Enfant*, Louis Guyon, Bussieres, Bayle, and many others.—The portrait of “ *La belle Feroniere* ” is yet to be seen in cabinets, and forms one of the Beauties in the famous collection of *Odieuvre*. The most common opinion is, that her husband was a lawyer ; but that fact is not certain. Louis Guyon is more diffuse in his relation of the circumstances of this story, than any other author. Francis was, during near a month, so ill at *Compiègne*, that his life was thought to be in extreme danger, and was even despaired of many times.—*Dr. Burnet* relates a story of

James



But, if such were the pernicious effects of his irregular pleasures to himself, yet were they productive of many immediate public benefits to his subjects and to the kingdom. Corporal suffering and mental anxiety preying constantly upon him, gradually changed his natural disposition. No longer capable of pursuing, as formerly, his appetites without restraint, and compelled to a life more temperate, as well as prudent, he renounced his habits of profusion, and became sparing of the revenues. Favorites, who were accustomed to abuse his bounty, lost their command over him; he applied more seriously to the public business; and, becoming splenetic, inaccessible, and reserved, introduced order thro' all the departments of government. 1538.

The rebellion of the inhabitants of the city of Ghent, one of the most wealthy, populous, and commercial places in the Low Countries, which took place at this time; served to oppose, in the most striking point 1539.

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James the second, when duke of York, similar in many respects to that of Francis and “*La belle Fero-niere*.”

of

1539. of view, the different characters of Charles and Francis. So far was the latter prince from exciting the insurrection of the Flemings, or from availing himself of their offers of submission to him, that he even gave information of their intention to the emperor. Animated by the same principles of magnanimity, and disdaining to take advantage of his rival's distress; on the first intimation of his wish to proceed thro' France to the Netherlands, Francis granted him a passage thro' his dominions. Nor did he lay the emperor, as it was easy to have done, under any conditions, except those of gratitude and honor. Every mark of the most flattering attention and respect was even shewn him, which could have been expected from the most disinterested friendship. The Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, Francis's sons, accompanied by the Constable Montmorenci, went to receive the emperor at Bayonne, and even offered to go as hostages into Spain, for the security of his person. The king himself, tho' exceedingly indisposed by illness, advanced as far as Chattelleraud in Poictou, where he received his Imperial majesty with every

every mark of esteem and amity. Honors 1539.  
 more than royal were paid to him, while all  
 orders of the state vied in their endeavors to  
 welcome his arrival, and to heighten the splen-  
 dor of his progress thro' the provinces, as  
 well as his entry into the capital\*.

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\* When the Constable de Montmorenci presented the two sons of Francis to the emperor, he besought of his majesty to accept them as hostages for his personal safety. But, Charles, who knew how and when to affect a magnanimity to which he was in reality a stranger, answered, that "he would indeed accept of them, not as hostages to be sent into Spain, but to retain them near his person, and to be the companions of his journey." The most sumptuous entertainments were given by Francis to his guest, at Châtelleraud, at Amboise, Blois, Orleans, and Fontainebleau; but all these were eclipsed by the magnificence of his entry into Paris. Charles, during his stay in France, exercised every act of sovereignty; liberating in that capacity, the prisoners in all the places thro' which he passed. Yet, notwithstanding all the endeavors exerted to amuse and entertain him, the emperor was visibly uneasy and suspicious. He staid only eight days in Paris: at Chantilly he likewise stopped for a few days, and was there received by the Constable, with a splendor little short of royal. Montmorenci and the two princes, sons of Francis, did not leave Charles till he reached his own dominions, the Low Countries, at Valenciennes.

1531. It was nevertheless proposed in the French cabinet, to improve the opportunity, and to compel the emperor by force, if it could not be done otherwise, to the restitution of the Milanese; a condition which he had engaged himself by a verbal promise to fulfil, previous to his entry into the kingdom. Montmorenci alone declared against the general opinion of the council; whether influenced by the attentions of Charles, who flattered and caressed him to the greatest degree; whether he was induced to give this counsel, from his personal adherence to the queen, Eleanor of Austria; or from any motives yet more concealed, remains problematical: but Francis was easily induced to lay his guest under no restriction\*. The king even conducted himself

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\* It may be much questioned, whether Montmorenci's advice was not equally wise, as it certainly was liberal and magnanimous. Du Bellai, in his *Memoirs*, justifies the Constable for his opinion. He places it, however, anterior in point of time, to Charles's arrival in France; and precisely at that juncture when the proposal was first made to Francis by the emperor, to allow him a passage thro' the French dominions. The Cardinal de Tournon, and the other members of the council,

self towards the emperor with unexampled <sup>1539.</sup> delicacy ; accompanied him on his departure as far as St. Quintin in Picardy ; and sent his two sons to attend him to Valenciennes. These accumulated favors were repaid with breach of faith, and evasions unworthy of a great monarch. Charles, who never meant to resign the rich duchy of Milan, and only sought to deceive his rival, avowed his intention, when he no longer feared reprisals ; and, like his grandfather Ferdinand, did not blush at a successful act of duplicity\*.

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cil, were of opinion to demand a written and solemn promise from Charles, to give the investiture of the Milanese to the Duke of Orleans, Francis's youngest son. Montmorenci, who thought any such engagement equally nugatory, and as easily violated, as a verbal promise, if the emperor was determined not to adhere to his word ; continued to retain to his original sentiments. In effect, can it be doubted that Charles never seriously intended to relinquish that beautiful and fertile duchy of Milan ? And would he have been more scrupulous in fulfilling his engagements, however solemnly ratified, than Francis had shewn himself in complying with the treaty of Madrid, and the cession of Burgundy ?

\* There is a curious anecdote on the subject of Charles's passage thro' France, found in Duplessis, who

1539 & 1540. The indignation, mingled with shame,  
 which the king felt at having been thus made  
 the dupe of his own unsuspecting honor,  
 roused him from that facility in adopting the  
 counsel of others, which he had hitherto on  
 many occasions too frequently indulged. He  
 began to suspect that treachery in his own

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attributes the facility of his departure and escape, almost entirely to the influence of the duchess d'Estampes.—Francis, says Dupleix, when he presented his mistress to the emperor, said, “ Mon frere, cette belle “ dame me conseille de vous obliger à détruire à “ Paris, l’ouvrage de Madrid;” to which he coldly replied, “ Si le conseil en est bon, il faut le suivre.” Alarmed however at this intimation of the duchess’s sentiments, and knowing her power over the king, Charles determined to exert all his address in order to attach her to his interests. On the ensuing day, when water was offered him to wash, Madame d’Estampes held the napkin. In pulling off a diamond of prodigious value, which he wore on his finger, he purposely let it drop; and she having taken it up, Charles refused to accept it; adding gallantly, that it too well became the hand where fortune had placed it, to take it away. The duchess, adds Dupleix, was too grateful for the present.—There is evidently an air of fiction and romance spread over this story, nor can its authenticity be relied on; tho’ it is but too clear that she held intelligence with Charles, in the sequel.

minis-

ministers and servants, had been added to the emperor's disingenuity; and that they had jointly imposed on his understanding. As he carried his inspection deeper, he thought that he discovered new proofs of the pernicious abuse, which his favorites had made of the royal ear and affection. The allurements of pleasure had ceased to delude his judgment; while the cares and duties of a sovereign anxious for the public welfare, occupied his mind; and the virtues which nature had early planted there, but, whose growth had been retarded by a too early accession to the crown, revived in an age less susceptible of flattery.

This alteration in the king's disposition, from whatever cause it principally originated, was followed by as great a change in the system of the government. The persons to whom the first offices in the several departments of the state had been confided, were successively disgraced. Brion, admiral of France, was degraded from that station; and tho' the intercession of the duchess d'Estampes, to whom he was allied by blood, mitigated the severity of his prosecution and sentence, yet

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1540.



1540.

1541. he died the victim of his mortified pride, and humbled fortunes\*. Poyet, the chancellor, became

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\* The ostensible pretexts for the trial and disgrace of the admiral Brion, were certainly not the real causes of that event ; nor can Francis, on any supposition, be justified in having degraded and dishonored a nobleman, whose conduct and services had merited a different treatment. Brion possessed many qualities, which rendered him deservedly dear to his sovereign, and to the nation : nor could all the malice of his numerous enemies, assisted by the virulence of Poyet, the Chancellor, criminate him, or stain his character with any imputation of guilt. The concealed reason for his persecution was, unquestionably, the attachment which Francis's mistress, the duchess d'Estampes, had betrayed for Brion, and which the king could ill pardon. Jealousy and rivalry probably conduced to the admiral's destruction, more than any reasons of policy, or crimes of state. Brion, thro'out his whole trial, and even after the unjust sentence of condemnation had been passed upon him, not only sustained his firmness of mind, but denied his having committed any act of felony towards his sovereign. Francis caused him to be arrested, and conducted to the castle of Melun. He was sentenced to pay a fine of fifteen hundred thousand Livres, and to perpetual banishment. The king was, however, too sensible of the iniquity of this decision, not to revoke it instantly. On the 12th of March, 1542, by letters patent, all the pains and penalties of the




became the second sacrifice ; his punishment, more rigorous than that of Brion, reducing him to penury and extreme distress. His conduct while he held the seals, which was no less reproachable than that of Du Prat, his predecessor, even deprived him in this fallen condition, of the popular commiseration. These two conspicuous changes in the administration, only served to prepare the way to a still greater catastrophe ; the dismissal of the Constable, who had stood so long unrivalled in Francis's affection and esteem. The cause cannot be exactly ascertained, nor is it positively known whether it proceeded more from political reasons, or from personal motives. It is asserted, that the king had become jealous of the Dauphin's growing attachment to Montmorenci ; a circumstance which powerfully ope-

1541.

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the sentence were rescinded and done away ; Brion was restored in honor, and perpetual silence imposed on his accusers. But, the blow was already struck : the admiral, wounded in his reputation, and disgraced by his sovereign, survived it only a short time, and died on the 1st of June, 1543. Francis made a magnificent funeral for him, and erected a splendid monument to his memory, as some, tho' a late and ineffectual testimony, of his fidelity and services.

1541.  rated, together with the other reasons before mentioned, to produce his disgrace. As it was not, however, accompanied by any resumption of the former favors of the crown, nor by judicial proceedings instituted against him; the Constable's fall, if compared with those of his two colleagues, Brion and Poyet, must be considered as only partial. Montmorenci retiring from court, occupied his leisure in building the castle of Ecoüen, near St. Denis, during his exile; but the king could never be persuaded to recal or employ him, by any endeavors that were used for that purpose\*. The Cardinal de Tournon, a man who

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\* It cannot be questioned that the partiality of the Dauphin Henry, and the open marks of respect and affection which he shewed to Montmorenci, contributed towards, if they did not absolutely produce, his dismissal. Diana de Poitiers, mistress to the Dauphin, and the declared rival of the duchess d'Estampes, had attached Montmorenci to her interests: he even contracted a very close alliance with her, by giving his second son Henry, in marriage to Antoinette de la Marck, Diana's grand-daughter. The court began to be divided between two contending factions, at the head of which were the king and his eldest son; nor could

who did not possess superior talents, but, nevertheless, a minister of application, and capacity for business, was invested with the highest employment of the state; and the Marechal d'Annebaut, who succeeded Brion as admiral, divided with him the royal confidence. 1541.

After near two years of political negotiation, and illusory proposals perpetually

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could Francis view without jealousy and resentment, the Constable's close connexions with the Dauphin. Yet, even in disgracing him, Francis treated him more as a favorite dismissed, than as a minister culpable towards the state. Montmorenci retired with dignity to his castle at Chantilly, unpursued and unpersecuted by the royal displeasure. Notwithstanding the many defects and vices of his character, he certainly possessed very eminent qualities for government. The finances, no less than the interior police of the kingdom, both which had been under his superintendence, felt his loss; and had never been so well administered as by him, since the accession of Francis to the throne. Even the severity and rigor of his manners, formed a barrier to the profusion of those who occupied the inferior departments of administration, and who trembled at his inexorable and vigilant circumspection. Perhaps, on a candid estimate of his virtues and defects, the kingdom may be said to have suffered in many points, by his removal from office.

1541. evaded on the part of the emperor, relative  
 to his pretended resignation of the sovereignty  
 of the Milanese, in favor of Charles, duke of  
 Orleans; Francis openly took up arms, and  
 renewed hostilities. Convinced at length by  
 experience, that these measures would never  
 produce the end intended; and irritated on  
 the other hand, by the Marquis del Guasto's  
 assassination of Rincon and Fregose, his am-  
 bassadors to the republic of Venice, and to  
 Sultan Solymán, emperor of the Turks; the  
 king resolved once more to meet his rival in  
 1542. the field\*. He even made greater military  
 efforts

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\* The assassination of the two ambassadors of Francis the first; an act which, tho' executed by the immediate orders of the Marquis del Guasto, governor of the Milanese, was yet unquestionably permitted, if not commanded, by Charles the fifth; is one of the foulest transactions which disgrace the annals of those times, and from which it is impossible satisfactorily to clear the emperor's memory. Cæsar Fregose, a noble Genoese, was nominated by Francis, his ambassador to the republic of Venice; as was Antoine Rincon, a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, to the same employment at the Porte. Rincon, a man of excessive corpulency, being unable from that circumstance to sup-  
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efforts than any that had been exerted during his whole reign; but the success did not

1542.

port the fatigue of a journey on horseback, across all Piedmont and the Milanese, the two ministers determined to embark on the Po. Langei, then commander of the French forces in Piedmont, having by his vigilant exertions received information that the Marquis del Guasto had stationed various bands of assassins along the course of the Po, and the other principal rivers of Lombardy; informed the two ambassadors of their danger, at the same time urging them to desist from the prosecution of their intended journey by water. Rincon was shaken by Langei's remonstrances; but Fregose adhering to his first resolution, they proceeded on their expedition. Langei having obtained fresh information of the design formed to assassinate them, dispatched a messenger to entreat them to return. They refused; whether from a false sense of shame, or from incredulity, is uncertain: but they consented to send back their credentials and dispatches, which the French commander engaged to deliver to them safely at Venice.

The two ambassadors continuing their voyage, and in order to make more expedition, having rowed all night, passed Casal; and next day reached Cantaloue, at a small distance from the place where the Tesino falls into the Po. They already began to deride the apprehensions of Langei, and to conclude themselves in safety, when they were suddenly attacked by two

1542. not correspond with the preparations, or with the expence. Henry, the Dauphin, who was placed at the head of an army in the province of Rousillon, near the frontiers of Catalonia, laid siege to Perpignan, the capital ;

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boats full of armed men. Rincon and Fregose were instantly massacred, sword in hand, after a brave defence against superior numbers. All their attendants and rowers, as well as the rowers of the two boats which contained the assassins, were indiscriminately committed, by order of the Marquis del Guasto, to the castle of Pavia, and confined in a dungeon. A second boat, which followed that of the two unfortunate ambassadors, and in which were the principal part of their domestics ; escaping to the bank of the river, eluded the pursuit of the assassins. Del Guasto was no sooner apprised of the success of his design, than affecting the utmost horror at so atrocious a crime, he pretended to set on foot the most rigorous inquiry after its perpetrators. But, Langei having corrupted a servant of the governor of the castle of Pavia, he contrived to file away the bars of the prison in which the boatmen were confined ; and having liberated them, conducted them in safety to Turin. This incontestible evidence being obtained of the Marquis del Guasto's guilt and participation, Francis filled the diet of the empire, as well as every court of Europe, with too just complaints and accusations of the emperor's violation of all the laws of nations.

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from whence, nevertheless, he was obliged to retire with considerable loss. His brother Charles, duke of Orleans, after a much more prosperous campaign in Flanders, by a signal act of imprudence abandoned his advantages; at a most critical period of the military operations. It being expected that the emperor was about to advance in person to the relief of Perpignan, and that a great battle would be fought under the walls of that city; the young prince quitting his own command, in the hope of being present at the action, precipitately crossed all France, to the city of Montpellier, where his father had remained, in order to wait the event of the siege of Perpignan. Scarcely any advantageous consequences resulted to the kingdom, from these great and expensive armaments. 1542.

But, if Francis was unsuccessful in the field, his internal government was marked by wisdom and policy. He exhibited at this time an instance of both those qualities, tempered by clemency, in his treatment of the inhabitants of the city of La Rochelle, who had revolted. After having entered with a great military escort into the place, which was incapable of defence; and after having pointed out to them the

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1543. the enormity of their crime, in terms becoming the majesty of the throne, he extended to them his pardon in the most ample manner.

Meanwhile the king of England having once more come to an open rupture with Francis, had renewed his ancient alliance with the emperor. The Netherlands became the principal scene of hostilities; where Francis, tho' attacked by diseases which annually increased in violence, assumed the command of his forces in person. He took, and garrisoned the important city of Luxembourg; but the inequality of his force was too great, when opposed against such formidable enemies as Henry and Charles, acting in union, to allow him to atchieve any other conquest of importance on that vulnerable frontier.

Induced by the pressing solicitations of his ally, the king of France; Solyman, emperor of the Turks, dispatched the celebrated pirate Barbarossa, in the character of his admiral, with a hundred and thirty gallies, to the aid of Francis. Barbarossa, after spreading terror along the coast of Italy; in conjunction with the French fleet, commanded by the young Count d'Enguien, a prince of the blood, laid siege to Nice; but the French and Ottoman  
arms



arms were unsuccessful. They retired with some dishonor from before the place. Francis, reproached by all the christian princes for this union with their common enemy, had the further mortification of deriving from it scarcely any advantage. In Flanders he proved more successful: Charles, who had led a formidable army into the field, with the intention of entering France on the side of Picardy, was repulsed from before the little town of Landrecy, by the valor of the garrison. Frustrated in this attempt, after seizing on Cambray, an Imperial city, he quickly retired into winter quarters. 1543.

After having been married ten years without producing any children, Catherine of Medicis was at length delivered of a son, who was named Francis, and who subsequently ascended the throne. Her real character, and the latent qualities of her mind, which afterwards so materially influenced the destiny of France, had not yet unveiled themselves, nor appear to have been suspected. Whether her concealment of those endowments resulted from consummate dissimulation, or was altogether involuntary, it is difficult

1543. cult to decide. She possessed no political influence, nor was she ever admitted to the deliberations of the cabinet. Her sterility, which likewise contributed to diminish her personal consequence, gave rise to some proposals for a dissolution of the marriage between her and the Dauphin, tho' the idea was finally relinquished. But, even in this depressed situation, her address was visible : she made the most assiduous and successful court to the king, whose health had begun rapidly to decline ; she accompanied him when he went to the chace ; and formed one of that celebrated, as well as select party, known by the title of “ La petite bande de dames de la “ cour.” Catherine usually attended him on his private excursions to the palaces of Chambord, Fontainebleau, and St. Germain ; where he laid aside the cares of state, and unbent himself in the company of a chosen number of his favorites. These complaisant attentions rendered her, as was natural, infinitely dear to Francis\*. To her husband, the Dauphin, she

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\* Tho' certain authors have spoken of the “ Petite bande de dames de la cour,” as a most dissolute and  
volup-

she was respectful and submissive : he was al- 1543.  
 ready devoted to his mistress, Diana de Poi-  
 tiers, whose faction, opposed to that of the  
 Duchess d'Estampes, divided the court. In  
 this most delicate and critical condition, with-  
 out foreign or domestic support, Catherine  
 displayed a self-command, as well as a flexi-  
 bility of conduct, rarely found ; and reserving  
 the talents with which nature had endowed  
 her, for more favorable times, she was con-  
 tent to remain in a degree of present humili-  
 ation, as well as obscurity.

The war between the two monarchs was 1544.  
 meanwhile continued with redoubled violence,  
 in Italy and in the Netherlands. Francis

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voluptuous association ; yet there can be no doubt of  
 the falsehood, as well as injustice, of such an accusa-  
 tion. It is likewise said, that Catherine prevented a  
 divorce taking place between Henry and herself, by the  
 interest of Diana de Poitiers, his mistress, of which aid  
 she did not scruple to avail herself ; but this story is  
 very problematical, and much to be disputed. Uniform  
 tradition, and several contemporary writers, attribute to  
 Fernel, the king's first physician, the merit of having  
 rendered her capable of bearing children, by some  
 medical assistance given to her constitution ; and there  
 seems every reason to believe this fact.

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1544. had entrusted the chief command of his forces in Piedmont, to the Count d'Enguien ; who, tho' only twenty-one years old, had already raised the highest expectations ; and had manifested talents for the field, of no ordinary description. Like Gaston de Foix, the Count d'Enguien acquired at a very early age, a military reputation which equalled him with the first commanders of the century : and like Gaston, his career, unfortunately for his country, was soon terminated by death. Allied to the throne, which he was so well qualified to defend ; the younger brother of Anthony, Duke of Vendome, first collateral prince of the royal blood ; his birth entitled him to the highest employments, while his capacity made him deserving of the supreme command bestowed on him by the king. The battle of Cerizoles in Piedmont, which he gained over Charles's general, the Marquis del Guasto, who was wounded in the action ; renewed the remembrance of the celebrated victory of Ravenna, under Louis the twelfth, to which it bore in many particulars, a striking similarity. The complete reduction of the Milanese would have been the necessary and immediate consequence of that signal success : but Francis,

compelled

April  
15.

compelled to renounce his Italian conquests, 1544.  
 from the pressing exigency of his domestic  
 affairs, was reduced to the necessity of re-  
 calling his victorious general, in order to re-  
 pel the invaders of his own dominions\*.

Charles,

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\* The celebrated Marechal de Montluc, who has left us his Commentaries, and who served at this time under the Count d'Enguien in Piedmont; was dispatched by him to the court, with directions to represent the situation of affairs, and to demand the king's permission to give battle to the Imperial general. Montluc has given us a very interesting recital of the particulars of his examination before the council, at which Francis assisted in person. The anxiety and impatience which he betrayed in his countenance and gestures, while the great question of bringing the enemy to a decisive action, was agitated in the cabinet, induced the members of it to allow him to deliver his sentiments on the subject. The enthusiasm and conviction with which Montluc described the certainty of victory, persuaded the king, whose inclinations seconded the speaker's arguments, to decide in favor of the Count d'Enguien's request. It appears that the ministers were divided in opinion; d'Annebaut inclining to join with Francis, while the Count de St. Pol opposed Montluc's advice. The king, at length, terminated the deliberation, and lifting his hands to heaven, cried out, "Qu'ils combattent! qu'ils com-  
 battent!"

1544. *Copreus* and his ally, Henry the eighth, coming forward, with two prodigious armies, which

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“battered?” This resolution was consonant to the genius and character of Francis, always easily inflamed with adventurous and daring counsels. Montluc instantly set off to carry the welcome intelligence to the army in Italy.


The left wing of the French, which was composed principally of Swiss and Italian troops, behaved shamefully, turning their backs at the first shock of the Spanish and German infantry. The Count d’Enguien, who commanded in person this wing, after making efforts of desperate valor to rally his flying troops, and after repeatedly charging the enemy at the head of a body of cavalry; conceiving that all was lost, only sought in despair an honorable death, among the thickest ranks of the Imperial Lansquenets. But, at that precise juncture, the centre and the right wing of the French having been victorious, attacked the Spanish infantry with so much impetuosity in their flank and rear, that they gave way; and retreating into the woods, were pursued and there cut to pieces. An undisputed victory remained to the Count d’Enguien. The prince of Salerno, one of Charles’s generals, who commanded a considerable body of soldiers, might still have restored and changed the fortune of the day: but the Marquis del Guasto, having forgotten or neglected to revoke the order which he had given to the prince of Salerno previous to the battle, to remain motionless

which they commanded in person, menaced 1544. France with greater misfortunes than any that had been yet experienced in the course of this long and eventful reign. They might, it was too probable, renew the scenes which had formerly taken place under John, and under Charles the sixth. It cannot be questioned that if the junction between the forces of these powerful princes had been made, which was originally stipulated between them; the kingdom would probably have been reduced to the verge of ruin. But from this imminent danger, France was rescued by the want of concert in the allies; who, regardless of the common cause, and solely attentive to their own separate interests, allowed the prey to escape their grasp.

The emperor, instead of marching strait towards the capital, which was altogether unprepared for resistance; laid siege to the insignificant town of St. Disier, which gallantly

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tionless at his post; the favorable moment was lost. A prodigious carnage was made among the Spaniards, by the conquerors. The Marquis del Guasto neither sustained in this action, his reputation for conduct, nor even for personal courage.

1544.  defending itself, detained him more than six weeks : while the king of England having sat down before the city of Boulogne, refused to desist from the attempt, or to join the Imperial army. These deviations from the original plan agreed on between them, gave Francis time to provide for the safety of his capital and his dominions. Being himself too much weakened by his disorder, to permit him to command the French forces in person, that important charge was therefore entrusted to the Dauphin. The emperor at length advancing, spread universal alarm and consternation. Paris, abandoned by its inhabitants, presented a scene of the utmost distress ; and scarcely could the king's arrival calm their apprehensions, or restore any sort of tranquillity among the terrified citizens of the metropolis.

Meanwhile his son Henry, of a character active, as well as enterprizing, and conducting troops who were animated with the same enthusiasm as himself ; had reduced Charles, in his turn, to the greatest difficulties for want of forage and provisions. It is even probable that the emperor must have either sued for a cessation of arms, or must have made as precipitate,



cipitate, and as disgraceful a retreat into the <sup>1544.</sup>  
Low Countries, as he had formerly done out of  
of Provence into Savoy; if the intrigues of the  
Duchess d'Estampes had not extricated him  
from this dangerous situation. She had the  
criminal audacity to convey to him private  
information of the magazines which were pro-  
vided at Epernay, and at Chateau Thierry, on  
the river Marne, of which Charles instantly  
possessed himself. The motives to this infa-  
mous and treasonable conduct, in a person  
who ought to have been animated by senti-  
ments of warm affection towards her sovereign  
and her country, were of the most unworthy  
and personal nature. Her jealousy of the re-  
putation which she knew the Dauphin must  
acquire by extricating the state from its dan-  
ger, was heightened and increased by her par-  
tiality for the Duke of Orleans, his brother.  
To this prince she imagined that Charles  
would resign the Milanese; and under his  
protection she flattered herself with the hopes  
of finding a secure asylum after the death of  
Francis; an event which she regarded as ap-  
proaching. The assistance that had been thus  
extended to the emperor's troops, and which  
had saved them from falling victims to famine,

1544. was nevertheless only a temporary relief; and tho' by a subsequent act of perfidy, St. Disier fell into his hands, yet the final event of the campaign still continued in suspense. Henry, at the head of a numerous and loyal army, might still have snatched from his enemy the advantages that he had so recently acquired.

These obvious and weighty considerations prevailed on the emperor either to propose, or to accept, conditions of peace. Two Dominican friars, named Diegos Chiavez, and Gabriel de Gusman, conducted the negotiation, which was warmly supported by Eleanor, Francis's queen. The Dauphin, on the other hand, who considered the treaty as not only inglorious and unnecessary; but, as making a sacrifice of the national honor and interests, to the personal elevation of his brother; violently opposed its conclusion. Francis, after some hesitation and irresolution, embraced the interests of his youngest son, for whom he indulged a partial fondness; and to whose uncertain future aggrandizement, he sacrificed on this occasion, the great interests of the crown and the nation. The treaty, which finally took place at the town of Crespy, may justly be  
consi-

considered as having been less calculated for <sup>1544.</sup> the public benefit, than for the particular advantage of the Duke of Orleans; to whom the emperor engaged to give his daughter, or his niece, in marriage, with the Low Countries or the Milanese in dowry, within two years from the signature of the articles. For this contingent benefit, in the accomplishment of which France was faintly interested; the king restored almost all his conquests in Savoy or in Piedmont; acquisitions equally solid and important, contiguous to his own frontiers, and far more easily retained than the duchy of Milan. We cannot wonder that the Dauphin protested publicly Doc. against a treaty, so injurious to his own interests, and to those of the kingdom\*.

The

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\*. There can remain no doubt respecting the treasonable information repeatedly given by the Duchess d'Estampes to the emperor; without which he could neither have taken St. Disier, nor have possessed himself of the magazines at Epernay and at Chateau Thierry, which were absolutely indispensable for the preservation of his forces. The Count de Longueval was employed by the Duchess, to deceive Sancerre, who commanded in St. Disier; and who surrendered the place by capitulation,

1545. The capture of Boulogne, which city had  
fallen into the king of England's hands, by  
the

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lation, upon a false order of the duke of Guise, fabricated by the Cardinal Granville, the emperor's minister ; to whom Madame d'Estampes had transmitted the Duke of Guise's cypher.

Francis, who was ignorant and unsuspecting of the hand from whence proceeded this blow, was almost overcome on receiving the intelligence. He was so indisposed by illness at that time, as to be obliged to keep his chamber : but the rapid advance of Charles towards Paris, and the loss of his two great magazines upon the river Marne, compelled him, exhausted as he was in body and mind, to make every possible exertion. With this view he rode thro' the streets of his capital, accompanied by the Duke of Guise, using every effort to encourage, and to stop the flight of the terrified inhabitants. The Dauphin, by a bold and masterly change of position, having thrown himself between the Imperial army and Paris ; the emperor, who had not foreseen or expected so rapid a movement, was compelled to fall back to Soissons. In this situation, peace became hourly more desirable to him. His magazines, however ample, would have been soon exhausted ; and the gout, with which he was attacked, disposed him to terminate the hazards and fatigues of a precarious campaign.

Tho' it is evident that the only object of Francis's attention in concluding this peace, was the aggrandizement

the misconduct and cowardice of Vervin, who 1545.  
 commanded in the place, had served to  
 hasten the conclusion of the late pacification.  
 Francis, anxious for the recovery of so im-  
 portant a frontier city, which, when added  
 to the possession of Calais and its adjoining  
 territory, gave Henry access to invade his  
 dominions with equal facility and success ;

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dizement of the Duke of Orleans, to which all the in-  
 terests of the monarchy were sacrificed ; yet there can  
 be very little doubt that Charles the fifth never seriously  
 intended to relinquish the Milanese. The conditions  
 on which the cession of that duchy were eventually to  
 depend, appear in the mode of drawing them up, to  
 have been studiously ambiguous, equivocal, and unde-  
 fined. It was in the first instance to be delayed eight  
 months, which time was left to the emperor, to enable  
 him to decide whether he chose to give his eldest daugh-  
 ter Mary in marriage to the Duke of Orleans ; or his  
 niece Anne, second daughter of his brother Ferdinand,  
 king of the Romans. If the first of these alliances took  
 place, he was to cede the Netherlands to his son-in-law ;  
 if the latter, the Milanese. On the whole face of the  
 treaty, it seems evident that Charles only intended to  
 deceive the king of France ; and to profit of the cre-  
 dularity of that monarch and of his mistress, on the fa-  
 vorite article of the duchy of Milan ; to the acquisi-  
 tion of which, Francis made almost all the measures of  
 his reign uniformly subservient.

1545. sent the Dauphin to form the siege of it without delay. He even advanced in person, accompanied by his youngest son Charles, to the abbey of Foret-Moustier, which is situate about ten leagues from Boulogne, between Abbeville and Montreuil. Here he was again overwhelmed by a new affliction, to which he was deeply sensible; the death of the Duke  
9th Sept. of Orleans; a prince who appears to have been the victim of his own puerile temerity. Symptoms of the plague having appeared in the neighbourhood of the village where the king was lodged; his son, notwithstanding the entreaties and remonstrances of his attendants, persisted to sleep in a house said to be infected; asserting gaily, that “in the  
“ annals of the monarchy, there was no in-  
“ stance of a son of France who had died of  
“ the plague.” Carrying his indiscretion to a still more unjustifiable length, he pulled out the bedding said to be tainted, and ran up and down, covered with the feathers. He was seized almost immediately with the distemper; of which he expired after a few days, in his father’s arms. Francis sinking under the blow, manifested all the tokens of excessive  
grief

grief at the loss of this favorite son, for whom he had with so much care, even by the dereliction or sacrifice of the interests of the French monarchy, endeavored to provide an inheritance beyond the limits of the kingdom, independent of the power of his elder brother\*.

1545.  


The

\* Charles, Duke of Orleans, was born in January, 1522. In his person he was handsome; but, if we may judge from some verses of Marot, there must have been a degree of effeminacy in his manners, not usually characteristic of that age. He was nevertheless brave even to temerity, and delighted in all the martial diversions of the court. It may be questioned whether the distemper of which he died, was the plague, or only a malignant fever, then epidemic, and which had made great ravages in Picardy. Many minute and curious particulars of his illness, are enumerated in a letter written from Amiens, by the papal Nuncio, to the presidents of the council of Trent, dated the 18th of September, 1545, a few days after his decease. The young Prince arrived in the camp on the 4th September, and having heard that the plague had appeared in many parts of the country, he determined to shew his contempt of the disorder, by entering several houses said to be infected. He afterwards, when heated by exercise, drank a glass of cold water, as his brother Francis, the first Dauphin, had done; and having gone to bed, was seized in two hours with a shivering and  
 head\*

1545. The Duke of Orleans, who was only twenty-three years old at the time of his death, resembled Francis in person more than either of his elder sons, and was esteemed the handsomest of his three children. He had no bodily defect, except a slight injury in one of his eyes, caused by the small-pox; but even this blemish was not discernible. As the features of his face bore a peculiar similarity to those of his father, so did the leading strokes of his character. Like Francis, he was lively, animated, courageous, active, and incapable of disguise or reserve: he was likewise marked with those errors and

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head-ach: he instantly cried out, "It is the plague! I shall die of it." The remedies which were administered, appeared however, to produce a beneficial effect, and on the 9th he was thought to be out of danger. But on that very day, a more violent return of the fever seized him: he then demanded the Viaticum, prepared himself for his end, and anxiously desired to see the king his father. Francis, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of his attendants, hastened to his son, who no sooner saw him enter, than he exclaimed, "I am dying; but since I see your majesty, I die content." The prince expired almost at the same instant, in the arms of his disconsolate parent, a victim to his own rashness and imprudence.

foibles



foibles which commonly characterize youth; 1545.  
presumption, warmth, and vanity. He was  
doubtless a prince of high expectations; if  
the rivalship and avowed animosity which subsisted between him and the Dauphin, had not rendered it too probable that after Francis's death, the brothers would no longer have preserved any measures with each other. The emperor, who artfully fomented this jealousy between them, by affecting a predilection and preference for the Duke of Orleans, instilled deeper suspicions into Henry's bosom. These considerations may perhaps induce us to suppose that his untimely end was not injurious to the state, however severely the individual loss was felt by his father. Charles immediately declared, as might have been foreseen, that by this accident he held himself acquitted from all his agreements relative to the Milanese, and refused to make the promised resignation of that duchy.


The death of Francis, Count d'Enguien, 1546.  
who had so lately acquired a great reputation by the victory which he obtained at Cerizoles, and whose age was almost exactly the same with that of the prince deceased; renewed the  
the

1546. the king's grief, who lamented his loss with demonstrations of the deepest sorrow. There is a degree of ambiguity spread over this event, which it is difficult to penetrate. The Count being engaged in a diversion with other young noblemen of the court, at La Roche-sur-Yonne, received a blow from a chest, thrown purposely, as it is asserted, from a window on his head, of which injury, after languishing a few days, he died. Cornelio Bentivoglio, an Italian nobleman, with whom he had previously some dispute, was accused of having perpetrated this detestable act. But the king would not permit the affair to be minutely examined, under an apprehension, as has been pretended, of finding that the Duke of Guise, and even the Dauphin himself, were implicated in, or privy to the commission of this crime\*.

A peace

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\* However suspicious many of the circumstances attending the Count d'Enguien's death may appear, yet it is impossible to admit the pretended participation of the Duke of Guise, or of the Dauphin, in so base an act, without authentic testimony. There is nothing in the life or reign of Henry the second, which indicates  
a mind

A peace, long, as well as mutually, desired 1546.  
 by the two kings of France and England,  June 8.  
 who

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a mind so lost to honor, and so destitute of humanity : on the contrary, he was an amiable and generous prince ; nor are the annals of his reign stained with any assassinations committed by his order or permission. Even Francis, Duke of Guise, however ambitious, violent, and even sanguinary in his zeal, yet was an open and avowed enemy, not a mean assassin. Francis the first, unquestionably suspended and prevented all judicial inquisition into the circumstances of the Count d'Enguien's death : but he acted exactly in the same manner, when, in the year 1521, he himself had been so severely wounded in the head by a torch, at Romorentin. He never would permit of any endeavors to discover the hand from whence it was thrown, consulting only in that conduct his own magnanimity and liberality of mind.

The circumstances of these two disasters, at Romorentin, and at La Roche-sur-Yonne, have a remarkable similarity to each other. All the amusements of that age were martial and military. The Count d'Enguien sustaining a siege, in a house which the Dauphin and his train attacked, snow-balls were the weapons used : but the Count having made a sally on the assailants, a chest thrown from a window fell on his head, and caused his death. It is not even well ascertained, that Bentivoglio threw this chest ; but he was suspected and accused of having done it, as Montecuculi had been of  
 poison-

1546. who were both sinking fast under the pressure of diseases ; at length took place. Henry, by the terms of the treaty, engaged to restore Boulogne at the end of eight years, on condition of being immediately paid a certain annual sum of money. Francis, released in some measure from this object of his anxious concern, directed all his attention towards the German empire ; where Charles the fifth, already master of Italy by his possession of Naples and Milan, had openly attempted to establish an unlimited power, and to extinguish every spark of political independence among the German princes.


As the king approached towards the close of his life, the violence of the two parties which divided the court, naturally redoubled. The Duchess d'Estampes had endeavored to

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poisoning the Dauphin Francis, in 1536. All murders, or flagitious crimes, were imputed to Italians, in the sixteenth century ; and in the art of preparing poisons, they were regarded as adepts. Whether the death of the Count d'Enguien was the effect of design, or of accident, his loss was deeply to be lamented by all France, as a prince of the highest endowments, and greatest expectations.

spread

spread a report, accusing Diana de Poitiers as the cause of the Duke of Orleans's death, by having administered to him poison. In addition to this cruel imputation, she had joined many contemptuous expressions, reflecting on the decay of her rival's personal charms; openly asserting that the year of Diana's marriage, was the year of her own birth. The Dauphin, in revenge for these aspersions on his mistress, had indulged himself in some very severe and pointed sarcasms on the Duchess's infidelity to Francis. He even presumed to assert, that she consoled herself for his father's sickness, in the arms of another; and he named the celebrated Guy Chabot, Seigneur de Jarnac, as the person; tho' he was nearly allied to the Duchess, having married her own sister. This accusation reaching the king's ear, was highly resented by him, and he would even have rigorously punished the author, if his name had not been concealed. Jarnac denying the fact, which La Chataigneraie, a favorite of the Dauphin, protested that he had personally communicated to himself; from this source originated the famous judicial combat between

1546.  tween those two noblemen, which took place soon after Henry the second's accession\*.

1547. We draw towards the close of this interesting reign. The death of Henry the eighth, Jan. which took place at this time, alarmed and disquieted

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\* It was not only with Jarnac, that Madame d'Estampes has been accused of infidelity. The Count de Bossu, and the Seigneur de Dampierre, have been likewise named as her lovers: but none of these accusations are proved, and probably they only originated in the Dauphin's and his mistress's hatred. Even Brantome, partial to his uncle La Chataigneraie, merely insinuates, that the Duchess was not strictly faithful to Francis; as he, on his part, did not pique himself on his fidelity to her. It was not her personal, but her political conduct, which rendered her obnoxious to Henry the second; who, after his father's death, protested against the abuse which she had made of her influence over him, and publicly countenanced the prosecution commenced against her. We must, in fact, admit that her public acts, during the invasion of France by Charles the fifth in 1544, in giving him information of the magazines at Epernay and at Chateau Thierry, ought justly to have rendered her an object of general condemnation. It is impossible not to contrast such criminal proceedings, with the patriotic and generous exhortations of Agnes Soreille, under similar circumstances, to Charles the seventh, when he was struggling to liberate

disquieted the king; who, notwithstanding <sup>1547.</sup>  
 their frequent political differences, had long  
 known, and entertained a personal affection  
 for the English prince. Some distant degree  
 of analogy and resemblance in their charac-  
 ters, had even united them closely to each  
 other, in defiance of their frequent wars and  
 contending interests. Francis caused a Re-  
 quiem and solemn service to be said for the  
 repose of Henry's soul; tho', as he died ex-  
 communicated, he was excluded from the pale  
 of the Romish church. The king was deeply  
 affected by that event, which he considered as  
 a prognostic of his own approaching dissolu-  
 tion. No effectual remedies could be admi-  
 nistered to his disease, which was grown in-  
 veterate; while the uneasiness and anxiety of  
 his mind increased its virulence. In this  
 condition, he wandered from one palace to


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liberate France from the English yoke. There have been  
 authors so absurd as to pretend, that Francis never  
 had any other connexions with her than those of mind,  
 during two-and-twenty years; but it would be ridicu-  
 lous to attempt formally to disprove this assertion. The  
 complexion of the king, the beauty and many at-  
 tractions of the duchess, refute it sufficiently.

1547. another, languid and depressed. A slow fever, produced by corporal and intellectual pain, began to waste his exhausted constitution ; and at length, becoming more violent, as well as continued, forced him to stop at the little castle of Rambouillet. Here, finding himself grow worse, and renouncing all expectations of life, he sent for his son Henry, that he might address to him his dying words, which appear to have been every way worthy of a great king expiring.

Francis having admonished him, that children should imitate the virtues, not the vices of their parents ; added, that the French people, as the most loyal and liberal of any nation in the world, merited in return to be protected, not oppressed by their sovereigns. He recommended to Henry, in terms the most forcible and persuasive, a diminution of the taxes and pecuniary impositions, which continual wars had forced him to increase to an unprecedented height. He requested his son never to recall Montmorenci ; to repress the dangerous and aspiring ambition of the family of Guise, which, if not checked, he foretold, would involve the state in confusion : lastly, to continue  
the



the Cardinal of Tournon, and the Marechal <sup>1547.</sup>  
 d'Annebaut in the ministry, as being able,   
 virtuous, and disinterested statesmen. Henry  
 shewed little deference to these salutary coun-  
 sels, when he ascended the throne. Francis  
 did not survive much longer; the perfect pos-  
 session of his understanding and speech ac-  
 companied him, however, to the last moment;  
 and he expired at length, aged only fifty-two <sup>March</sup>  
 years, of which he had reigned above thirty- <sup>31.</sup>  
 two. The magnificence which had distin-  
 guished him thro' life, did not forsake him  
 even in death: his funeral obsequies were per-  
 formed with unusual pomp, and were at-  
 tended by eleven Cardinals; a circumstance  
 unexampled in the annals of France\*.

The

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\* Francis's bodily complaints and dejection of mind redoubled and augmented, after he had received the afflicting news of the death of Henry the eighth. A slow fever attacked him in the beginning of February, which he endeavored to surmount and expel by exercise, peculiarly by his favorite diversion of hunting; but, in the evenings his fever returned, and his strength gradually diminished. He removed from St. Germain, to La Muette; from thence successively to Villepreux, Dampierre, and Limours. At this last

1547. The narration of the principal events of Francis's reign, renders it unnecessary to be equally diffuse in the delineation of his character; because, having been an actor in every leading transaction of the period in which he governed France, he comes forward

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place he intended to pass the Carnival; but, after a short stay of only two or three days, he quitted it, and went to the castle of Loches, in Touraine. His complaints becoming there more violent, induced him to return to the palace of St. Germain, which was his most usual residence, and where he could receive the best medical assistance. In his way from Loches, he passed by Rambouillet, where he only purposed to remain one night; but he was destined there to finish his career.

The amusement which he found in hunting at Rambouillet, made him imagine that the residence would be favorable to his recovery; and in that flattering hope he determined to remain there. But the more alarming attacks of his fever, which were caused by the excessive pain that he underwent from his ulcer, soon convinced him that his end was not very remote. He died with perfect composure and self-possession, occupied during his last moments in the duties and cares of a monarch, anxious for the welfare of his successor and his people. Francis was buried at the abbey of St. Denis; but, his heart and his bowels were deposited at the convent of Hautes Bruyeres, in the diocese of Chartres.

personally

personally to inspection upon all great occasions, whether in the field, or in the cabinet, from the time of his accession to his decease. 1547.

We are therefore compelled to appreciate his worth, and we are enabled to do it without assistance. We shall admire his magnanimity, his clemency, his munificence, his romantic and scrupulous honor. We shall confess and respect his capacity, his courage, his protection of genius and the arts, his heroism and fortitude in adversity. We shall pity, but we shall likewise condemn, his profusion, his want of application, his too great subserviency to ministers, favorites, and mistresses, who abused his confidence to the most pernicious purposes. No prince of the age in which he flourished, interests us so deeply: none was so much celebrated while living; nor was any the subject of such universal panegyric after his decease. Tho' usually unsuccessful in his wars, he yet acquired more personal glory than did the emperor, his competitor; and Francis appears more truly great after the defeat at Pavia, or when a captive in the castle of Madrid; than Charles, victorious, imposing conditions on his prisoner.

His

1547. His princely liberality, united with his condescending attentions to men distinguished by their superior merit or talents, acquired him a fame not inferior to that of Leo the tenth, and less ostentatious than that of Louis the fourteenth. It is well known that the celebrated painter, Leonardo-da-Vinci, expired in his arms, from the effort which he made in raising himself, when in the last stage of illness, to express his sense of the honor done him by the visit of so august a monarch.

No European court could vie with that of Francis in brilliancy or refinement, and he was himself the animating principle which rendered it superior to every other of the period. During the last ten years of his life, his character rises in every respect. Notwithstanding all the previous disorder in the finances, notwithstanding the numerous and splendid palaces which he erected, the donations that he made to men of letters, the collections of paintings and other works of art which he purchased, and the continual wars which he sustained ; yet at his death, the royal domain was unincumbered, there was a vast sum remaining in the treasury, and a quarter of his  
revenues

revenues ready to enter the exchequer. His faults of his foibles and errors were such as met a generous mind ; such as we incline to pardon, while we censure. His prodigious amours carried with them their own punishment, by conducting him to the grave, before age had diminished his faculties, or enfeebled his powers. To Henry the fourth he bears, in his faults, no less than in his virtues, a striking resemblance ; and this latter prince, so dear to the French nation, was flattered with the comparison of himself to Francis, whom he admired, and whom he wished to imitate. The proclamation in the hall of the palace, which announced his death, was couched in these words : “ Prince clement en paix, victorieux en guerre, “ pere et restaurateur des bonnes lettres, et “ des arts liberaux.” An eulogium, which we must nevertheless admit, was very inferior in real value, to that of “ Father of his people ;” conferred on his predecessor, Louis the twelfth !

By Eleanor of Austria, his second wife, he never had any issue : on his decease she retired first into the Netherlands, and afterwards into Spain ; in which country she died,  
at

1547. at Talavera, near Badajox, eleven years after her husband. We know not that Francis had any children by either of his most celebrated mistresses, the Countess de Chateau-Briand, and the Duchess d'Estampes\*.

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\* Brantome has mentioned a certain "Villegouvin," as his illegitimate son; but this fact is very doubtful.— It is curious to find in the Jesuit Garasse, and in Sanderus, that Anne Boleyn, afterwards queen of England, is accused of having been one of Francis's mistress. They not only vilify her character by the most illiberal invectives, but, describe her person in language so extraordinary, that it may be amusing to copy her portrait, as drawn by the latter of these writers. "Anne de Boleyn avoit six doigts à la main droite; le visage long, jaune, comme si elle eut eu les pales couleurs; et une loupe sous la gorge." It is impossible at least to recognize the beautiful Anne Boleyn, under these frightful and ridiculous colours.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.











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